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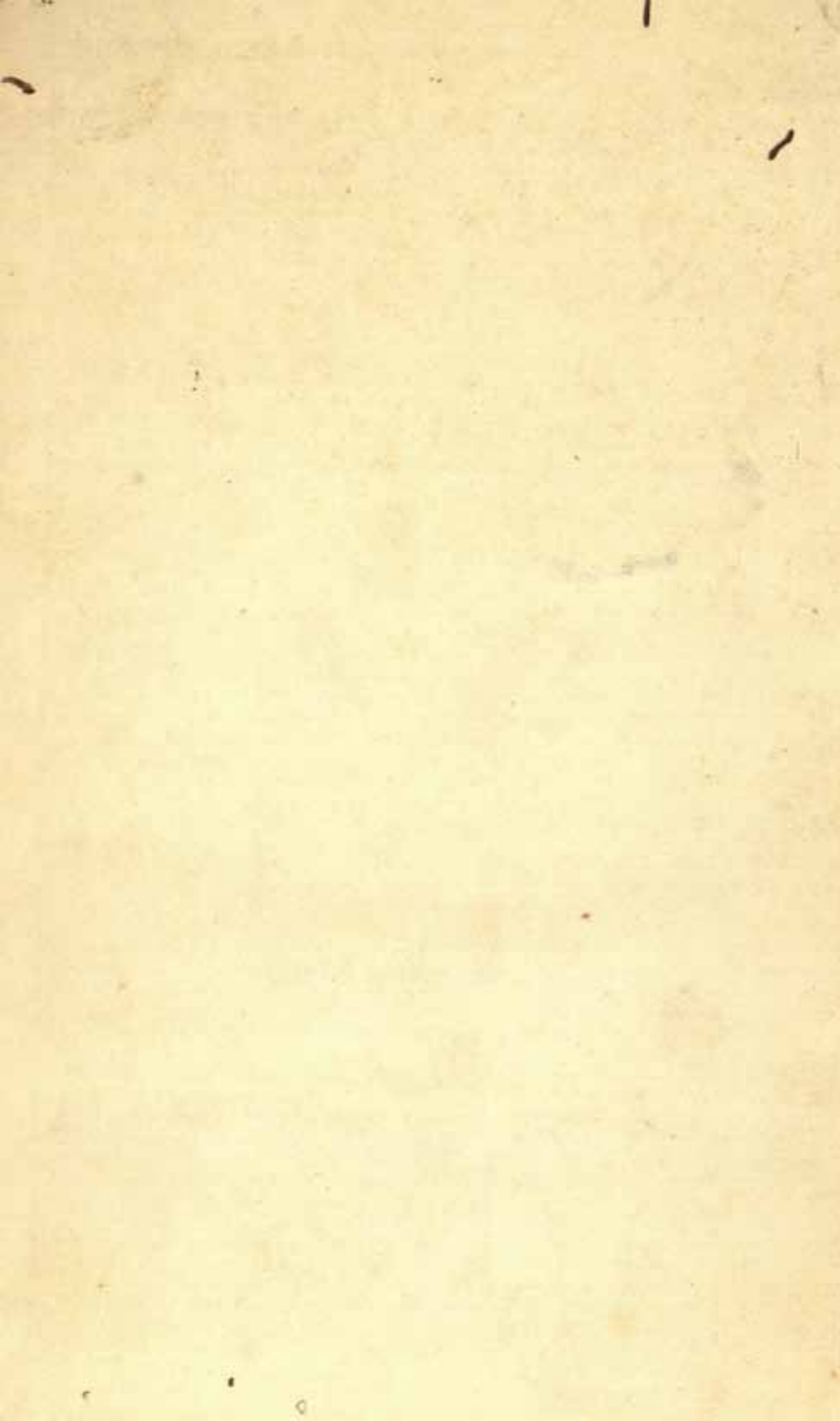
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FOLK-LORE

A QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM

BEING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

And Incorporating THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW and
THE FOLK-LORE JOURNAL.

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DAVID NUTT, 55-55N LONG ACRE

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ERRATA.

P. 164, l. 22; for *Geraldus* read *Giraldus*.
 P. 165, n. ; for *Jewilt* read *Jewitt*.

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*As amended by Special General Meeting held on the
18th January, 1905.*

I. "The Folk-Lore Society" has for its object the collection and publication of Popular Traditions, Legendary Ballads, Local Proverbial Sayings, Superstitions and Old Customs (British and Foreign), and all subjects relating thereto.

II. The Society shall consist of (a) Members and (b) Libraries and other Institutions, being subscribers to its funds of One Guinea annually, payable in advance on the 1st of January in each year.

III. A Member of the Society may at any time compound for future annual subscriptions by payment of Ten Guineas over and above the subscription for the current year.

IV. Every Member whose subscription shall not be in arrear shall be entitled to a copy of each of the ordinary works published by the Society.

V. Any Member who shall be one year in arrear of his subscription shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council shall otherwise determine.

VI. The affairs of the Society, including the election of Members, shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary, and eighteen other Members. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancies in their number that may arise during their year of office.

VII. An Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London at such time and place as the Council, from time to time may appoint. No Member whose subscription is in arrear shall be entitled to vote or take part in the proceedings or the Meeting.

VIII. At such annual General Meeting all the Members of the Council shall retire from office, but shall be eligible for re-election.

IX. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the General Meeting.

X. The Council may elect as honorary Members persons distinguished in the study of Folklore, provided that the total number of such honorary Members shall not exceed twenty.

XI. The property of the Society shall be vested in three Trustees.

XII. The first Trustees shall be appointed at a Meeting convened for the purpose.

XIII. The office of Trustee shall be vacated (i.) by resignation in writing addressed to the Secretary, and (ii.) by removal at a Meeting of Members convened for the purpose.

XIV. The Meeting removing a Trustee shall appoint another in his place. Vacancies in the office arising by death or resignation shall be filled up by the Council.

XV. The Trustees shall act under the direction of the Council.

XVI. No Trustee shall be responsible for any loss arising to the Society from any cause other than his own wilful act or default.

XVII. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a Special General Meeting of the Society, to be convened by the Council or upon the requisition of at least five members, who shall give fourteen days' notice of the change to be proposed, which shall be in writing to the Secretary. The alteration proposed shall be approved by at least three-fourths of the Members present and voting at such Meeting.

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 Göttingen University Library, per Asher & Co., 18, Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.
 Gowland, T., Esq., 14, Tavistock Road, Harlesden, N.W.
 Grand Rapids Public Library, per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, W.C.
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 Gregory, H. E., Esq., Boarzell, Hawkhurst, Sussex.
 Guild, J. Harrower, Esq., W.S., 21 Atholl Crescent, Edinburgh.
 Guildhall Library, E.C.
 Gutch, Mrs., Holgate Lodge, York.
- c. Haddon, A. C., Esq., Sc.D., F.R.S., Inisfail, Hills Road, Cambridge.
 Hall, Mrs. H. F., Oaklands, Sheffield.
 Hamilton, Miss Katherine, Fort Wayne, Indiana, U.S.A.
 Hampton, G. H., Esq., Cleveland Brass and Iron Works, Middlesbro'-on-Tees.
 Hannah, R., Esq., 82, Addison Road, Kensington, W.
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 Harris, Rev. H. A., Thorndon Rectory, Eye, Suffolk.
 Harrison & Sons, Messrs., 45, Pall Mall, S.W.

- Hartland, E. Sidney, Esq., F.S.A., Highgarth, Gloucester (*Vice-President*).
 Hartland, J. Cole, Esq., care of Messrs. Hunt & Co., Yokohama, Japan.
 Harvard College Library, per Kegan Paul & Co., Ltd., 43, Gerrard Street, W.
 Heather, P. J., Esq., 25, Lambton Road, Wimbledon, S.W.
 Helsingfors University Library, per Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 43, Gerrard Street, W.
 Henderson, Miss A. B., Ormlie Lodge, Thurso.
 Henderson, Charles A., Esq., B.A., 121 Ifley Road, Oxford.
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 Hewitt, J. F., Esq., Holton Cottage, Wheatley, Oxford.
 Hiersemann, Karl W., 3, Königstrasse, Leipzig.
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 Hinuber, Miss, 34, Linden Road, Bedford.
 Hodgson, Miss M. L., The Croft, Betley, via Crewe.
 Holliday & Co., Messrs. R., Wellington, New Zealand (per Sampson Low & Co., Fetter Lane, E.C.).
 Holmes, T. V., Esq., F.G.S., 28, Crooms Hill, Greenwich, S.E.
 Howard, David, Esq., Devon House, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.
 Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, U.S.A., per W. Beer, Esq.
 Howell, Geo. O. Esq., 210, Eglinton Road, Plumstead, Kent.
 Howitt, Miss Mary E. B., Clovelly, Metung, Victoria, Australia.
 Hughes, G. H. Esq., 6, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.
 Hull, Miss Eleanor, 14, Stanley Gardens, West.
 Hull Public Libraries, Hull, per W. F. Lawton, Esq.
 Hussey, A., Esq., Clan Road, Tankerton-on-Sea, Whitstable, Kent.
 Hutchinson, Rev. H. N., F.G.S., 94, Fellowes Road, Hampstead, N.W.
 India Office Library, Whitehall, S.W., per F. W. Thomas, Esq.
 im Thurn, Sir E. F., Esq., K.C.B., Governor of the Fiji Islands.
 Iowa State Library, Des Moines, Iowa, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens, 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C.
 Jackson, A. M. T., Esq., Bycullah Club, Bombay (Assistant Collector, Nasik, Bombay).
 James, C. H., Esq., J.P., 64, Park Place, Cardiff.
 Janvier, Thos. A., Esq., c/o Messrs. Brown Bros. & Co., Bankers, New York, U.S.A.
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 Jewitt, W. H., Esq., 4, Torriano Cottages, N.W.
 John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
 Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, per E. G. Allen, 28, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.
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 Jones, D. Brynmor, Esq., K.C., M.P., LL.B., 27, Bryanston Square, W.

- Kalisch, A., Esq., 13, Nevern Road, Earl's Court, S.W.
 Kennedy, Miss L., Fairacre, Concord, Mass., U.S.A.
 Kensington Public Libraries, per Farmer & Sons, 179, Kensington High St., W.
 Ker, C., Esq., 1, Windsor Terrace, West, Glasgow.
 Ker, Professor W. P., M.A., 95, Gower Street, W.C.
 Kiev University Library, Russia, per F. A. Brockhaus, 48, Old Bailey, E.C.
 Kirby, W. F., Esq., F.L.S., F.E.S., Hilden, Sutton Court Road, Chiswick.
 Kitts, E. J., Esq., 51, Norton Road, Hove.
 Klincksieck, C., Paris, per Kegan Paul & Co., 43, Gerrard Street, W.
 Kosminsky, Isidore, Esq., Langport Villa, 43, Robe Street, St. Kilda, Victoria, Australia.
- Lang, A., Esq., M.A., 1, Marloes Road, Kensington, W. (*Vice-President*).
 Leather, Mrs. E. M., Castle House, Weobley, R.S.O.
 Lee, The Very Rev. Timothy, Forey Hill, Croom, Limerick, Ireland.
 Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, per G. F. Stevenson, Esq., LL.B., 11, New Street, Leicester.
 Leland Stanford Junior University College, per F. A. Brockhaus, 48, Old Bailey, E.C.
 Lemcke & Buechner, Messrs., 11, East 17th Street, New York, U.S.A., per H. Grevel & Co., 33, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.
 Letts, C., Esq., 8, Bartlett's Buildings, E.C.
 Levy, C. E., Esq., Boundstone Lodge, Farnham, Surrey.
 Library of the Supreme Council of the 33rd Degree, etc., for England and Wales and the Colonies, 33, Golden Square, W.
 Lindsay, Lady, 41, Hans Place, W.
 Liverpool Free Public Library, per Gilbert G. Walmsley, 50, Lord Street, Liverpool.
 Lockhart, The Hon. J. H. Stewart, Registrar-General of the Legislative Council, Hong Kong.
 London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.
 Los Angeles Public Library, California, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4, Trafalgar Square, S.W.
 Lovett, E., Esq., 41, Outram Road, Croydon.
 Lucas, Harry, Esq., Hilver, St. Agnes Road, Moseley, Birmingham.
 Lyttelton, The Hon. Mrs. Alfred, 16, Great College Street, Westminster.
- Macbean, E., Esq., 31, Athole Gardens, Kelvinside, Glasgow, W.
 Macgregor, A., Esq., Stamford Brook House, Hammersmith, W.
 Mackenzie, W., Esq., Crofters' Commission, 6, Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
 MacLagan, R. Craig, Esq., M.D., 5, Coates Crescent, Edinburgh.
 McCaskie, Miss M., 12, Sydney Place, Onslow Square, S.W.
 Magri, Rev. E., S.J., The Seminary, Gozo, Malta.
 Major, A. F., Esq., Bifrost, 30, The Waldrons, Croydon.
 Manning, P., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 6, St. Aldate's, Oxford (Beechfield, Watford).

- Manchester Free Library, King Street, Manchester.
 March, H. Colley, Esq., M.D., Portesham, Dorchester.
 Marett, R. R., Esq., Exeter College, Oxford.
 Marsden, Miss, F.R.G.S., Chine Side, Shanklin, Isle of Wight.
 Marsh, R. H., Esq., Ingleside, Epping, Essex.
 Marston, E., Esq., St. Dunstan's House, E.C.
 Masson, Sir D. P., Managing Director, The Punjab Bank, Lahore, per H. S. King & Co., of Cornhill, E.C.
 Matthew, Rev. Henry C., Manse, Claremont, W. Australia.
 Matthews, Miss Elizabeth, The Hollies, Swaffham, Norfolk.
 Max, J., & Co., 21, Schweidnitzerstrasse, Breslau.
 Maxwell, G., Esq., Ipoh, Perak, Federated Malay States.
 Meadville Theological School Library, Meadville, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
 Mercantile Library of St. Louis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert.
 Mercantile Library of Philadelphia, per Maggs Bros., 109, Strand, W.C.
 Merrick, W. P., Esq., Manor Farm, Shepperton.
 Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
 Meyrick Library, Jesus College, Oxford, per Ernest E. Genner, Esq., Librarian.
 Miall, Stephen, Esq., LL.D., B.Sc., 116, Fore Street, London, E.C.
 Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert.
 Middlesborough Free Library, per Baker Hudson, Esq., Middlesborough.
 Milne, F. A., Esq., M.A., 11, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. (*Secretary*).
 Milroy, Mrs. M. E., The Oast House, Farnham, Surrey.
 Minneapolis Public Library, per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
 Minnesota, University of, Minneapolis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
 Mitchell Library, 21, Miller Street, Glasgow, c/o F. T. Barrett, Esq., Librarian.
 Mond, Mrs. Frida, 20, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
 Montague, Mrs. Amy, Penton, Crediton, North Devon.
 Morison, Theodore, Esq., Aligarh, N.W.P., India.
 Munich Royal Library, per Asher & Co., 13, Bedford Street, W.C.
 Myers, C. S., Esq., B.A., M.B., Melrose, Grange Road, Cambridge.
 c. Myres, J. L., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 1, Wellington Place, Oxford.

 Nancy, Université de (Institut d'Archéologie Classique), Nancy, France.
 National Library of Ireland, per Hodge, Figgis & Co., 104, Grafton Street, Dublin.
 c. Nesfield, J. P., Esq., Stratton House, 2, Madley Road, Ealing.
 Newark Free Public Library, New Jersey, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.

- Newberry Library, Chicago, per B. F. Stevens, 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C.
 Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle-on-Tyne, per H. Richardson, Esq.
 New Jersey, The College of, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A., per H. A. Duffield, Esq., Treasurer.
 New Jersey Free Public Library, per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
 New York, College of the City of, per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
 New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox, & Tilden Foundation), per B. F. Stevens, 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C.
 New York State Library, per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
 Ninnis, Belgrave, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., Brockenhurst, Aldrington Road, Streatham, S.W.
 Nottingham Free Public Library, per J. E. Bryan, Esq., St. Peter's Church Side.
 Nutt, Alfred, Esq., 57-59 Long Acre, W.C. (*Vice-President*).

- O'Brien, Captain A. J., Deputy Commissioner, Mianwali, Punjab, India.
 Oldfield, Capt. F. H., R.E., Scottish Conservative Club, Edinburgh.
 Olorenshaw, Rev. J. R., Rattlesden, Bury St. Edmunds.
 Olrik, Dr. Axel, Matinsvej, 9, Copenhagen, Denmark.
 Ordish, T. Fairman, Esq., F.S.A., 16 Clifford's Inn, E.C.
 Owen, Miss Mary A., 306, North Ninth Street, St. Joseph, Missouri, U.S.A. (*Hon. Member*).

- Parker, Mrs. K. Langloh, Bank of Adelaide, 11, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
 Paton, W. R., Esq., Ph.D., Maison Camus, Place Maze, Viroflay, Seine et Oise, France, per Messrs. Burnett & Reid, 12, Golden Square, Aberdeen.
 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, per E. G. Allen, Esq., 28, Henrietta Street, W.C.
 Peacock, E., Esq., F.S.A., Wickentree House, Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire.
 Peorio, Public Library of, per G. E. Stechert, Esq., 2, Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
 Percy, Lord Algernon, Guy's Cliff, Warwick.
 Philadelphia, Free Library of, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C.
 Philadelphia, The Library Company of, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen, Esq., 28, Henrietta Street, W.C.
 Philippine Islands, Ethnological Survey for the, Manila, per Merton L. Miller, Esq., Acting Chief.
 Phipson, Miss, 64, Bell Street, Reigate.
 Pineau, Mons. Léon, Villa Roche Close, Chamalières Clermont Ferrand, Puy-de-Dôme, France.
 Pitts, J. Linwood, Esq., M.J.I., F.S.A., Curator Guille-Allès Library, Guernsey.

- Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society, per
C. S. Jago, Esq., Plymouth Public School.
- Pocklington-Coltman, Mrs., Hagnaby-Priory, Spilsby, Lincolnshire.
- Poor, H. W., Esq., 18, Wall Street, New York, U.S.A.
- Portsmouth Public Library, per Tweed D. A. Jewers, Esq., Librarian.
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Square, W.
- Postel, Prof. Paul, Lemberg, Austria.
- Price, F. G. Hilton, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., 17, Collingham Gardens,
S. Kensington, S.W.
- Providence Public Library, per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
- Pusey, S. E. Bouverie, Esq., F.R.G.S., 35A, South Audley Street, W.
- Quaritch, Bernard, 15, Piccadilly, W.
- Quaritch, Miss, 34, Belsize Grove, Hampstead, N.W.
- Raynbird, H., jun., Esq., Garrison Gateway, Old Basing, Basingstoke.
- Reade, John, Esq., 270, Laval Avenue, Montreal, Canada.
- Reading Free Public Library, Reading, per W. H. Greenhough, Esq.
- Reynolds, Llywarch, Esq., B.A., Old Church Place, Merthyr Tydvil.
- Rhys, Professor John, M.A., LL.D., Jesus College, Oxford (*Vice-President*).
- Risley, The Hon. H. H., M.A., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Thacker, 2, Creed
Lane, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
- Rivers, W. H. R., Esq., M.D., St. John's College, Cambridge.
- Rodon, Major, G.S., F.Z.S., Dharwar, Bombay, India.
- Röhrscheid & Ebbecke, Messrs., Buchhandlung, Am Hof, 28, Bonn.
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shire.
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- Roth, H. Ling, Esq., Briarfield, Stribden, Halifax.
- C. Rouse, W. H. D., Esq., M.A., Litt.D., 16, Brookside, Cambridge (*President*).
- Royal Irish Academy, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104, Grafton Street, Dublin.
- Rücker, Miss, 4 Vanbrugh Terrace, Blackheath, S.E.
- Rutherford, Miss Barbara, 196, Ashley Gardens, S.W.
- St. Helen's Corporation Free Library, per A. Lancaster, Esq., Librarian, Town
Hall, St. Helen's.
- Salford Public Library, Manchester.
- Savage, Rev. Canon E. B., M.A., F.S.A., St. Thomas' Vicarage, Douglas,
Isle of Man.
- Saxby, Mrs. Jessie M. E., Wullver's Hool, Balta Sound, Shetland Isles.
- C. Sayce, Rev. Prof. A. H., M.A., LL.D., D.D., Queen's College, Oxford
(4, Whitehall Court, S.W.) (*Vice-President*).
- Scholten, Mrs., West End, Newport, R.S.O., Pembrokeshire.
- Scott, Sir J. G., K.C.I.E., 68, St. James' Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
- Sébillot, Mons. Paul, 80, Boulevard Street, Marcel, Paris.

- Seeböhm, F., Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., The Hermitage, Hitchin, Herts.
 Seligmann, C. G., Esq., M.B., c/o A. Solomon, Esq., 46, Finchley Road, N.W.
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 Sheffield Free Public Library, Surrey Street, Sheffield, per S. Smith, Esq.
 Shewan, A., Esq., Seehof, St. Andrews, Fife.
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 Signet Library, Edinburgh.
 Sikes, E. E., Esq., St. John's College, Cambridge.
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 Sinclair, The Hon. Mrs., 12, Palace Gardens Terrace, Kensington, W.
 Singer, Professor, 9, Falkesplatz, Bern, Switzerland.
 Sion College Library, Victoria Embankment, E.C., per W. H. Milman, Esq., Librarian.
 Skeat, Walter W., Esq., Rome Land Cottage, St. Albans.
 Skilbeck, J. H., Esq., 6, Carlton Hill, N.W.
 Skipwith, G. H., Esq., The Polytechnic Institute, William Street, Woolwich, S.E.
 Sneddon, G. P., Esq., 8, Merry Street, Motherwell, N.B.
 Solomon, John E., Esq., A.L.A., 7, Patton Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
 Southam, Lieut.-Colonel, H.R.H., V.D., F.S.A., Innellan, Shrewsbury.
 Speakman, Mrs. J. G., 2, Piazza Antinori, Florence.
 Speight, Ernest E., Esq., Shaldon, South Devon.
 Stanbery, Miss K. S., 433 Adair Avenue, Zanesville, Ohio, U.S.A.
 Starr, Professor Frederick, University of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A. (*Honorary Member*).
 Stockholm, Royal Library of, per Sampson Low & Co., St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.
 Stokes, Whitley, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., Croome House, Camberley, Surrey.
 Sunderland Public Library, Borough Road, Sunderland, per B. R. Hill, Esq.
 Swainson, Rev. C., The Rectory, Old Charlton.
 Swansea Public Library, per S. E. Thompson, Esq., Librarian.
 Swanson, A. E., Esq., Erin, Riffel Road, Willesden, N.W.
 Sydney Free Public Library, per Messrs. Truslove & Hanson, 153, Oxford Street, W.
 Tabor, C. J., Esq., The White House, Knotts Green, Leyton.
 Tate Library, Streatham High Road, per C. F. Richards, Esq., Council House, Wandsworth, S.W.
 Tate Library, University College, Liverpool, care of J. Sampson, Esq.
 Taylor Institution, Oxford, per Parker & Co., 6, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C.
 Taylor, Miss Agnes.
 Temple, Lieut.-Colonel Sir R. C., Bart., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., The Nash, Worcester.

- Thomas, N. W., Esq., 7, Coptic Street, W.C. (*Hon. Auditor*).
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 Thorp, T., Esq., 4, Broad Street, Reading.
 Tolhurst, J., Esq., F.S.A., Glenbrook, Beckenham, Kent.
 Toronto Public Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26, Henrietta Street, Convent Garden, W.C.
 Toronto University Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26, Henrietta Street, Convent Garden, W.C.
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 Torr, Miss Dona R., Carlett Park, Eastham, Cheshire.
 Townshend, Mrs. R. B., Derry Illawn, Banbury Road, Oxford.
 Traherne, L. E., Esq., Coedriglan Park, Cardiff.
 Travancore, His Highness the Mahārājāh of, Huzier, Cutcherry, Trevandrum, India.
 Turnbull, A. H., Esq., Elibank, Wellington, New Zealand, per A. L. Elder & Co., 7, St. Helen's Place, E.C.
 Tylor, Professor E. B., LL.D.; D.C.L., F.R.S., The Museum House, Oxford (*Vice-President*).
 Udal, His Honour J. S., Chief Justice of the Leeward Islands, Antigua, West Indies.
 Upsala University Library, per C. J. Lundström, Upsala, Sweden.
 Usener, Professor, Bonn, Germany.
 Van Stockum, W. P., & Son, 36, Buitenhof, The Hague, Holland.
 Van Gennep, Professor A., 4, Rue du Moulin-de-Pierres, Clamart (Seine), per A. Schulz, 3, Place de la Sorbonne, Paris.
 Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., U.S.A., per H. Sotheran & Co., 140, Strand, W.C.
 Vienna Imperial Court Library, per Asher & Co., 13, Bedford Street W.C.
 Voss' Sortiment (Herr G. Haessler), Leipzig.
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 Walker, Dr. Robert, Budleigh-Salterton, Devon.
 Warner, S. G., Esq., Elmside, Bolingbroke Grove, S.W.
 Watkinson Library, Hartford Connecticut, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen, 28, Henrietta Street, Convent Garden, W.C.
 Weimar Grand Ducal Library, per Dr. P. von Bojanowsky.
 Weston, Miss J. L., Lyceum Club, Piccadilly, W.
 Wheatley, Henry B., Esq., F.S.A. 2, Oppidans Road, Primrose Hill, N.W.
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 Wills, Miss M. M. Evelyn, Heathfield, Swansea.
 Wilson, Miss Mary, 123, Victoria Road, Kilburn, N.W.

- Windle, Professor B. C. A., M.D., F.R.S., President's House, Queen's College, Cork.
- Wisconsin State Historical Society, per H. Sothorn & Co., 140, Strand, W.C.
- c. Wissendorff, H., 19, Nadeschkinskara, St. Petersburg, Russia.
- Wood, Alexander, Esq., Thornly, Saltcoats, Ayrshire.
- Woodall, E., Esq., Wingthorpe, Oswestry.
- Worcester Free Public Library, Mass., U.S.A., per Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., Ltd., 43, Gerrard Street, W.
- Wright, A. R., Esq., H.M. Patent Office, Southampton Buildings, W.C.
- Wright, W. Aldis, Esq., LL.D., Trinity College, Cambridge.
- Wyndham, The Right Hon. George, M.P., 35, Park Lane, W.
- Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son.
- Zervos, Gerasimos, Esq., c/o Ralli Brothers, Khamgaon, Benar, India.
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Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XVI.]

MARCH, 1905.

[No. I.

WEDNESDAY, 17th NOVEMBER, 1904.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. D. ROUSE) IN THE
CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz.: Major G. S. Rodon, Mr. C. H. Bompas, Mrs. Leather, and Mr. G. Barham.

The resignations of Dr. Ranking, Dr. Colfox, the Battersea Public Library, Mr. F. Sessions, Mr. H. W. Underdown, and Mr. E. J. Kitts, were also announced.

The Secretary read a note on some Highland superstitions, communicated by Miss Dora Bailey of Invergloy, [see p. 61], and exhibited some photographs of the Hobby Horse at Padstow, Cornwall, sent by Mr. F. G. Green [p. 56 and Plates VII., VIII., IX.]

Mrs. Mosher read a paper on "Breton Folk-Lore," and in the discussion which followed, Mr. Nutt, Miss Eyre, Miss Burne, and Mr. Jenner took part.

The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to Mrs. Mosher for her paper.

WEDNESDAY, 7th DECEMBER, 1904.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. D. ROUSE) IN THE
CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new Members was announced, viz.: Mr. C. A. Henderson and the Ethnographical Survey of the Philippine Islands.

The withdrawal of the resignation of Mr. E. J. Kitts was also announced.

Mr. W. St. John Hope exhibited a conventional corn ornament which had been offered at the Harvest Thanksgiving Service in Little Hadham Church, Herts, in 1904. Mrs. Gomme also exhibited some corn ornaments from Devon and Cornwall.

Miss L. M. Eyre read a paper on the "Folk-Lore of the Wye Valley."

Dr. Westermarck read a paper entitled "Midsummer Customs in Morocco," [p. 27], and a discussion followed in which Mr. Dames, Mr. Pusey, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Kirby, and Mr. Clodd took part.

The Meeting terminated with votes of thanks to Miss Eyre and Dr. Westermarck for their papers, and to Mr. St. John Hope and Mrs. Gomme for their exhibits.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

(WHICH BY ORDER OF THE COUNCIL WAS ALSO A
SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING).

WEDNESDAY, 18th JANUARY, 1905.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. D. ROUSE) IN THE
CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report, Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1904 were duly presented, and, upon the motion of Dr. Haddon, seconded by Mr. Tabor, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

Balloting papers for the election of President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers having been distributed, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Milne were nominated by the Chairman as scrutineers for the Ballot.

During the interval while the votes were being counted, the Chairman moved, pursuant to notice given on the 7th January, 1905, Dr. Haddon seconded, and it was resolved unanimously

"That Rule II. of the Society's Rules be amended by inserting therein, in place of the word *Members*, the words (a) *Members* and (b) *Libraries and other Institutions*."

Minutes of Meetings.

The result of the Ballot was then announced by the Chairman, and the following ladies and gentlemen were declared duly elected, viz.:

As President.

W. H. D. Rouse, Esq., M.A., Litt.D.

As Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. John Abercromby.	A. C. Haddon, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., F.L.S.
The Rt. Hon. Lord Avebury, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.L.S.	E. S. Hartland, Esq., F.S.A.
E. W. Brabrook, Esq., C.B., F.S.A.	A. Lang, Esq., M.A., LL.D.
Miss C. S. Burne.	A. Nutt, Esq.
Edward Clodd, Esq.	Prof. J. Rhys, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A.
G. L. Gomme, Esq., F.S.A.	The Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce, M.A., LL.D., D.D., and
Prof. E. B. Tylor, LL.D., F.R.S.	

As Members of Council.

Miss Lucy Broadwood.	E. Lovett, Esq.
W. Crooke, Esq., B.A.	A. F. Major, Esq.
E. K. Chambers, Esq.	S. E. Bouverie Pusey, Esq., F.R.G.S.
M. Longworth Dames, Esq.	T. Fairman Ordish, Esq., F.S.A.
F. T. Elworthy, Esq., F.S.A.	C. J. Tabor, Esq.
Miss Eyre.	N. W. Thomas, Esq.
Miss Margaret Ffennell.	H. B. Wheatley, Esq., F.S.A., and
Miss Goodrich Freer.	A. R. Wright, Esq.
Dr. Gaster.	
I. Gollancz, Esq., M.A.	
Miss Eleanor Hull.	

As Hon. Treasurer.

Edward Clodd, Esq.

As Hon. Auditors.

F. G. Green, Esq., and N. W. Thomas, Esq.

As Secretary.

F. A. Milne, Esq., M.A.

The Chairman delivered his Presidential Address, for which a vote of thanks was accorded him on the motion of Dr. Haddon, seconded by Mr. Nutt.

Miss M. L. Hodgson then exhibited a collection of Easter eggs, necklaces, powder-horns, needlecases, etc., made and used by the Huculs, upon which Dr. Gaster and Mr. Hartland offered some observations. [See p. 48 and Plates I-IV.]

The Meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to Miss Hodgson for her exhibition.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

18TH JANUARY, 1905.

THE Council record with deep regret the death during the year of Professor York Powell, the late esteemed and accomplished President of the Society. This is the first occasion in the annals of the Society on which, a President having died during his term of office, the Council have had to be called together to elect a new President for the residue of the year. They had the satisfaction of electing Dr. Rouse to the vacant office and to obtain his acceptance of it, and they now nominate him as President for the ensuing year.¹ The Council regret also to have to record the deaths of Mr. W. Jones and Mr. C. H. Moore, and of Mrs. Kate Lee, to whose energy and geniality the Society was in many ways indebted.

With regard to membership the Society has had a fairly successful year, having elected 23 new members. Only eighteen deaths and resignations have been recorded during the past year. But it is difficult to ascertain the precise number of effective members, as the present addresses of some members are not known. If these members are reckoned as effective there has been a nett addition of five to the roll of the Society. The membership may practically be regarded as stationary.

¹ An appreciative notice of the late President appeared in the pages of the June number of *Folk-Lore* (vol. xv., p. 182).

The publications of the Society have been brought very nearly up to date, and its finances are in a satisfactory condition.

In the early part of the year an effort was made to induce the authorities of public libraries to become subscribers. The Council appeal once more to the members of the Society to interest their friends and acquaintances in its work.

The following Meetings were held in the course of the year 1904, at which papers were read before the Society, viz. :

Jan. 20. The President's Address. (*Folk-Lore*, March, 1904.)

Feb. 17. "Wizdary in the West." Miss Wherry.

"The Place of Tradition in Historical Evidence." Mr. G. L. Gomme.

March 17. "The Development of the Prayer out of the Spell." Mr. R. R. Marett.

April 20. "On Toda Prayer." Dr. W. H. R. Rivers.

May 18. "The Folklore of the Basuto." Mrs. Cartwright.

June 15. "Some Annancy Tales as told in Jamaica." Miss Pamela Coleman Smith.

Nov. 17. "Breton Folklore." Mrs. Mosher.

Dec. 7. "The Folklore of the Wye Valley." Miss L. M. Eyre.

"Midsummer Customs in Morocco." Dr. Westermarck.

The following objects have been exhibited at the Meetings, viz. :

- (1)* A Toothache Charm from Pembrokeshire. By Mr. W. C. Merrick. (2) Photograph of a Rushlight-stand and Fire-screen, at the Hough, Eccleshall, Staffordshire. By Mr. W. Wells Haden. (3) Photograph of a Norwegian Stabbur or Cheese-house at Telemarken. By the Hon. Mrs. Sinclair. (4) Kentish Pudding Pies; A Gingerbread Pig from St. Cloud; Pictures representing (a) An offering before Captain Cook in the Sandwich Islands, (b) The funeral pile of a husband in Hindustan, and (c) A dance at Otaheite. By Miss Edith Cobham. (5) Photographs of Bull Pitchers from Stamford, Lincolnshire. By Miss Peacock. (6) A collection of Basuto charms, necklaces, costumes and ornaments, and photographs of Basuto men dancing at a race meeting, Bushman cave-paintings, and other objects of interest. By Mrs. Cartwright. (7) A Basuto necklace and charm. By Mr. A. R. Wright. (8)* A collection of Burmese dolls. By

Miss L. M. Eyre. (9) A collection of Tibetan amulets and charms. By Mr. A. R. Wright. (10) Photographs of the Hobby Horse at Padstow, Cornwall. By Mr. F. G. Green. (11) A corn ornament offered at Little Hadham Church, Herts, at the Harvest Festival, 1904. By Mr. W. H. St. John Hope; and (12) Corn ornaments from Devon and Cornwall. By Mrs. Gomme.

The objects marked with an asterisk have been presented to the Society, and will in due course be placed in the Society's case at the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

The Council are glad to note that, perhaps for the first time in the history of the Society, some object of interest has been exhibited at every Meeting, so that the hope expressed a year ago has been fulfilled. As the exhibition of these objects contributes in no small measure to the interest of the Meetings, the Council look with confidence for as good a record this year.

The Meetings have been uniformly well attended and the interest of the audiences sustained. Miss Pamela C. Smith's reproduction of Annancy Tales precisely as they were told to her in Jamaica, which took the place of a paper at the June Meeting, proved most popular. Miss Smith told the tales in negro costume and illustrated them by roughly-shaped toys. This recitation was an entirely new departure, for which the Council were indebted to their late lamented President.

The Lecture Committee still continues without a Secretary. The Council are glad, however, to be able to report that upon their recommendation Mr. E. Lovett has given lectures at Wellingborough and at the Morley College for Working Men and Women in the Waterloo Bridge Road, both of which were well attended and much appreciated. The Council thank Mr. Lovett for this service, and would be glad to find other Members of the Society as enthusiastic as he in the same direction.

The Society has issued during the year the 15th volume

of its Transactions, *Folk-Lore*. Miss Burne has again most kindly assisted the Council by editing the volume, and the Council desire to place on record the debt of gratitude the Society owes her for the time and labour she has so ungrudgingly expended upon this work. The Council have also again to thank Mr. A. R. Wright, to whom they are indebted for the Index.

The Society has also issued during the year as the extra volume for 1902 Miss M. A. Owen's monograph on the Musquakie Indians, with the descriptive catalogue of the Musquakie beadwork and other objects which she has so generously presented to the Society; and, as the extra volume for 1903, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. iv., being examples of printed Folklore concerning Northumberland, collected by Mrs. M. C. Balfour, and edited by Mr. N. W. Thomas. The promised collection by Mr. T. Fairman Ordish of materials for the History of English Folk-drama is not yet ready for press; but it is hoped that it may be finished in time to be issued as the additional volume for 1904. No decision has yet been arrived at as to the additional volume for 1905.

In recognition of the specially valuable services rendered directly to the Society by Miss M. Roalfe Cox and Miss M. A. Owen, the Council have unanimously elected them Honorary Members.

The Society was represented at the Meetings of the Anthropological section of the British Association at Cambridge by, amongst others, Mr. and Mrs. Gomme, Mr. Brabrook, Mr. E. S. Hartland, Dr. Haddon, Mr. Crooke, Mr. J. G. Frazer, Mr. N. W. Thomas, Miss Burne, Miss Hull, and Miss Ffennell. Mr. F. W. Günther, who read a paper on the "*Cimaruta*," has very kindly promised to read it again before the Society. The Council would emphasise the importance of these Meetings being better attended by Members of the Society than they are at present.

It has been a great disappointment to Mr. A. R. Wright that he has been unable to complete the annual Bibliography of British Folklore for the year 1902. The task of verifying and supplementing the materials in his hands has been greater than he anticipated; but it is nearly finished, and Mr. Wright has already collected a good deal of material for the Bibliography for 1903. The Council therefore hope that they may be able to publish the Bibliography for the two years together in the coming autumn. Now that the main lines of the scheme for the Bibliography are settled, there is no reason why the Bibliography for 1904 should not also be completed within the year; but if this result is to be achieved, more assistance will have to be forthcoming, and for such assistance the Council earnestly appeal.

During the year an appeal was made to the Council on behalf of the National Library of Turin for a gift of the Society's publications to replace those which had been lost in the late disastrous fire. The Council presented the library with a selection of the publications, and the following is a copy of the letter of thanks addressed to the late President on behalf of the Italian Ambassador.

"Ambasciata d'Italia,

20, Grosvenor Square, W.

23rd December, 1904.

"SIR,

The Curator of the National Library of Turin has called the attention of the Italian Government to the valuable gift of books that your Society has recently made to that Institution.

The Minister of Public Education has now directed me to tender your Society the warmest thanks of the Italian Government for having so generously gone to the aid of the National Library of Turin with the gift of books, so as

to endeavour to partly lessen the great loss sustained, some time ago, by that Institution.

Whilst fulfilling this very pleasing duty, I beg to remain, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(For the Italian Ambassador),

CARIGNANI,

Councillor to the Embassy."

"Prof. F. York Powell, M.A., F.S.A.,
President, Folklore Society."

The Council submit herewith the annual accounts and balance sheet duly audited, and the balloting list for the Council and officers for the ensuing year.

By Order of the Council,

W. H. D. ROUSE,

President.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1904.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
To Balance carried forward from 1903 :—		By Printing Account (Publications) :—	
Petty cash in hands of Secretary, -	£2 1 3	Messrs. Nichols & Sons.	
On Current Account at Bank, -	305 5 8	<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. xiii., 4; Vol. xiv., 1, 2, 3, and 4; Vol. xv., 1.	£302 0 2
" Subscriptions, 1905 (12), -	£12 12 0	Messrs. MacLehose & Co.	
" " 1904 (345), -	362 5 0	<i>County Folklore</i> , Vol. iv. (Northumberland),	53 4 0
" " 1903 (23), -	24 3 0	<i>Folklore of the Miquiquie Indians</i> (Miss M. A. Owen), -	43 14 7
" " earlier years (9), -	9 9 0	" Miscellaneous Printing (December, 1902—May, 1904), -	40 3 9
" Sale of Publications, per Messrs. Nutt :—		" Engraving Blocks, etc., for Illustrations, <i>Folklore</i> , -	£7 14 4
First and Second Quarters, 1903, -	£35 17 11	" Illustrations, <i>Miquiquie Indians</i> , -	27 1 0
Third and Fourth Quarters, 1903, -	80 17 10	" Advertising (Messrs. Nutt), -	34 15 4
		" Postages, Despatch of Volumes, &c., Messrs. Nutt (July, 1903—July, 1904), -	12 12 6
		" Binding Account (Messrs. Simpson & Co.), -	40 10 9
		" Hire of Meeting Room, -	8 0 0
		" Expenses of Evening Meetings :—	8 8 0
		Advertising, -	£2 5 4
		Refreshments, -	5 5 0
		Miss P. C. Smith's fee, -	2 2 0
		" 400 copies Index of Archaeological Papers (A. Constable & Co.), -	9 12 4
		" Subscription to Congress of Archaeological Societies, -	2 10 0
		" Expenses of Annual Bibliography, -	1 0 0
		" Secretary's Salary and Poundage, -	1 0 0
		" Insurances—Stock (2 years), -	56 8 0
		MSS. and Books, -	£2 10 0
		" Carriage of books (Bishop Callaway's <i>Amazon</i>) from S. Africa, -	2 15 6
		" Petty Cash Expenses—Secretary, -	2 1 7
		Mr. E. S. Hartland, -	£6 0 11
		Cheque Book, -	1 3 4
		Bank and other Discounts, -	0 8 4
			1 7 9
			9 0 4

Balance in Bank on Current Account, £196 5 0	
Balance in hands of Secretary, - 0 9 10	
	196 14 10
	<u>£812 11 8</u>

F. G. GREEN,
NORTHCOTE W. THOMAS, } *Auditors.*

EDWARD CLODD, *Treasurer.*

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31ST, 1904.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
Printing of Publications:—		Subscriptions for 1904 and earlier years	
<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. xv., Part 2, -	£42 4 6	outstanding, -	£44 2 0
Vol. xv., Part 3, -	51 2 6	Less Subscriptions paid in advance, -	12 12 0
Vol. xv., Part 4, -	51 11 3		£31 10 0
Completing volumes of Bishop Callaway's <i>Religious</i>		Messrs. Nutt (Sale of Publications):—	
<i>System of the Amazulu</i> , -	10 9 6	January—June, -	£85 8 3
<i>History of Folk-Drama</i> , Mr. T. F. Ordish (say), -	30 0 0	July—December (say), -	30 0 0
Miscellaneous Printing, -	9 15 6		115 8 3
Secretary's Pouches, -	22 5 0	Balance on current account at Bank, -	£196 5 0
Messrs. Nutt (wrapping and despatch of volumes, etc., half-year) say, -	20 0 0	Balance in hands of Secretary, -	0 9 10
	<u>£287 8 3</u>		196 14 10
Balance to credit of the Society, -	56 4 10		
	<u>£343 13 1</u>		<u>£343 13 1</u>

F. G. GREEN,
NORTHCOTE W. THOMAS, } *Auditors.*

In addition to the above, the Society has a stock of publications consisting of some 7,000 volumes.

EDWARD CLODD, *Treasurer.*

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

IT must be that our minds are thinking of one who ought to be in this place to-night. About twelve months ago, when I last met York Powell, some words that were said made a deep impression upon me. We were sitting in the combination-room of Christ's College, after dinner, and I happened to remark that the place seemed full of the memory of Robertson Smith. It is ten years since his death, and yet I could never enter the room but I recalled that inexhaustible flow of brilliant talk, those sallies of wit that used to set the table in a roar, the sharp tongue and generous heart of one, whose life was spent in noble endeavour and quiet deeds of kindness. "Yes," York Powell said, "I feel that too: it is the only kind of immortality worth having." He who spoke those words knows now what is behind the veil; but the immortality he wished for is his. I suppose no one who ever met him failed to carry away some intellectual or moral stimulus, some help or encouragement for his own studies or his own cares; no one could fail to know him for a grand master in the freemasonry of generous spirits, except a soul which knew not the sign. It is no enviable thing to stand in his place. I cannot pretend to give what he could have given us: my store is small, the time has been very short. I trust you will listen with something of his gentle tolerance.

The past year has been not uneventful for the study of Folk-Lore. Amongst the authors whose books have been published or announced are two well-known names, the pioneers of Australasian ethnology, Fison and Howitt. Mr. Fison's book, which by the way has not yet come out, I have seen in manuscript; as originally drafted it was a collection of the most delightful and racy letters, which contained many descriptions of Fijian legends and customs. Mr. Howitt's *Native Tribes of South-East Australia* is mainly a reprint of his scattered articles, but is not less valuable for that, since the articles are hardly accessible to students. Messrs. Spenser and Gillen have followed up their first great work by another, the *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, marked by the same scientific care and accuracy. The Cambridge expedition to the Torres Straits, whose leader needs no mention amongst us, has published its fifth volume on *Sociology, Magic, and Religion*: a volume most remarkable for the exactness of its method, which makes us wish for more students to be promoted from the study of dead nature to the study of man. Another book which ought to be out now, and cannot be long delayed, is Mr. W. W. Skeat's second volume on the Malay Tribes. It is worth while mentioning two others. The first by D. Kidd, called *The Essential Kafir*, contains a set of photographs, most original, and admirably executed. The second, *Le Folklore de France* (P. Sébillot), is a compilation which has been much wanted. The *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* has passed into the hands of a new editor, and appears in a much improved form.

Most of the works I have mentioned are records of facts; and it cannot too often be said that the paramount duty of all students of folk-lore now is to record facts. There are always plenty of persons willing to spin theories, and not infrequently one or two who are competent to do so; nor is there reason to expect that their number will

grow less. But the facts are fast disappearing from off the face of the earth. It is most unlucky, that wherever book-education goes, the natural culture of the folk is destroyed. Possibly more is gained than lost; on that point I shall express no opinion until I have retired from the scholastic profession, when I shall be able to offer the ripe fruits of my experience; but the old customs are lost, and the old culture, fairy tales, and folk-songs are replaced by the Golliwog and the Absent-Minded Beggar. Hence, in all countries which are called civilized, the present generation will probably be the last when such collection is possible; and in the rest of the world, local authors are either becoming contaminated or are even there disappearing. Let us then, so far as in us lies, gather the harvest while it is ripe, or at least the gleanings. In Europe there are still two districts which have a rich crop ready for the reaper, the Slavonic area and Greece. Fortunately the Russians are alive to the importance of this work, as their excellent folk-lore journal testifies, not to mention the numerous collections of *Skazki* and *Bylini*. The same is true of Bohemia, and, I believe, of Bulgaria, although I only know the last area by hearsay. Greece may be divided into two parts: the Greek Kingdom and Turkish Greece. The former is overrun with schoolmasters and politicians, who unfortunately despise the popular language and all its works, and wherever daily papers go the old lore is fast dying. But the one good deed with which we may credit the Turks, is that they keep their own Greek districts in complete isolation, not only from the rest of the world, but island from island, city from city. Hence these parts of Greece, and especially the isles of the Aegean, are almost as provincial, as independent in character, as they have ever been. Customs, legends, songs, dialects—all, with certain general resemblances, differ in detail in a remarkable degree; so that the

material cannot be said to have been collected until each district has been worked.

There is already collected a great mass of material for modern Greece. The local patriotism of the people is intense, and nearly every considerable place has found its historian, who often gives notes on the dialect and, generally with some kind of apology, drops in a few legends and tales, or ballads, which he happens to know. Some of these collections, such as those of Epirus by Politis, of Cyprus by Sakellarios, of Chios by Paspatis, of Crete by Yannarakis, are full and good; but as a rule the compiler has no scientific method, and no care for accuracy. Hence those works must be used with caution, and checked one by another. There is also a great difficulty in getting them at all. A Greek publisher never keeps his stock. When sales begin to drop he gets tired, and sells off the whole remainder to any one who will buy; or he shuts up shop and turns to some other trade; or perhaps he goes to prison. I have been collecting these Greek monographs for fifteen years, and I have about a quarter of them, nearly all bought from second-hand booksellers. For these reasons then—the inaccuracy of the record and its incompleteness—there is much work to be done in Greece. And there are still many places which are quite virgin soil; one such is the island of Cos, from whence I have succeeded in getting together a collection of songs, tales, and customs from oral tradition which would already fill a volume. I have offered a selection of these already to the Society (*Folk-Lore*, vol. x., pp. 150-185), and a publisher for the whole has been found.

Greece offers to the student of folk-lore one great advantage: he is able to trace a great deal of myth and custom to an earlier source. In comparative studies we rest largely on analogy, and we have to make many assumptions, which may be justified but are open to the

objection that they *are* assumptions. But Greek antiquity is, to a great extent, known; and where it is reflected in modern Greece we have evidence to show how far oral tradition can be trusted, and what changes may occur by its means. Sometimes we can even go behind antiquity: there are customs, there are even words and phrases now current, for which no direct evidence, or only a hint, is forthcoming in ancient literature, but which bear all the marks of genuineness. There are even instances where popular idiom can solve a difficulty which has seemed to the classical student insoluble.¹ But, without venturing upon this debatable ground, the acknowledged facts are of so great a value that it is a wonder they have never been gathered and compared. The only work of the kind which has ever appeared is Bernhard Schmidt's *Volksleben der Neugriechen und das Hellenische Alterthum*, of which the first part appeared in 1871, and the second is still unwritten. The principles which Schmidt lays down are good, and the execution, as far as it goes, excellent; but his book does not exhaust the material known in his day, and since his day* a great quantity of fresh material has been published. The attention of classical scholars ought to be directed to this field of research. Unfortunately there is hardly any one in England who thinks modern Greek to be worthy of serious study. In France and Germany there are many; and in Paris provision is made, both for research and for teaching, by the university. In this country, once identified with the Philhellenic spirit, whose fleet struck the decisive blow for Greek freedom at the battle of Navarino, the commercial spirit has so tainted schools and universities alike, that there is nothing. It is this that so clearly shows the lack of intelligence in our government, who squander millions in elementary

¹ As κακῶς = Mod. Gr. τοῦ κακόν, 'in vain'; Eur. *Cyclops*, 690, as printed lately by Mr. Pallis in the *Classical Review*.

education, for which parents ought to be compelled to pay, and refuse all help to disinterested research, which the public is too ignorant to value at its true worth, or to any kind of study which is not supposed to have a direct commercial price. But we cannot expect enlightened aid to research and experiment from a government, which in a certain school in the north, refused to give a grant for the study of Shakespeare, until an ingenious inspector dubbed it "Commercial English."

The study of modern Greek is complicated by the strange perversity of the Greeks themselves. Intoxicated with the pride of their ancient lineage and heroic past, they have ever since the War of Independence set themselves artificially to revive all they can of the ancient language. Words which have not been spoken for a thousand years are dug out of ancient books and put over their shops; extinct inflexions, and tags of syntax misunderstood, are foisted in between genuine modern idioms and literal translation of French phrases. It is as if we were to use *heafod* in place of *head*, and every now and then to drop into an Anglo-Saxon dative or infinitive inflexion. But, apart from parliament and professorial lectures and the range of artificial education, these vagaries are no part of the spoken language at all. Go into a shop with the sign *οἶνοπωλεῖον* and ask for *οἶνος*, and you will be met with a blank stare. I once tried the experiment of speaking to a Greek member of parliament in the official dialect, and he did not understand me, until I repeated my sentence in the popular form. In the family, the most rigorous of "purists"—so they have the effrontery to call themselves—will speak pure "dialect," as he would call it to you or me. The student then must avoid all newspapers, and all self-conscious literary works, which are written in the most astonishing jargon that ever was heard of.

When however we come to the real modern Greek, we are astonished by its wealth of resource. There is no idea, however abstract or abstruse, which cannot be quite clearly expressed by it. The power of composition is as strong as ever it was, and as we see by our own borrowings, is capable of describing the most elaborate machine or invention. Its dramatic power is very great, and the Greeks are great talkers. There are very few foreign words in it; nearly all have survived from classical times with their ancient meaning, although disguised by the modern pronunciation. And there is no local dialect which I am acquainted with, that does not show a number of other words and grammatical forms which do not survive in Attica, and therefore have been too hastily regarded as extinct. This is a matter for the philologist rather than for us, but it has importance as showing the tenacity of the old tradition. We may expect to find a similar tenacity in matters of custom. Some of the more general heads have been treated by Schmidt, and other instances may be found in the two papers which I have read before this Society.¹ Thus Votive Offerings made in time of sickness or peril are much the same, and offered in the same way, as they were in the third and fourth centuries B.C.; harvest thanksgiving and other popular feasts bear unmistakable evidence of their ancient origin; modern sanctuaries in large numbers stand on the sites of ancient temples; even sacrifice has left a faint image in the gilding of the horns of a victim in Lesbos, perhaps in the gold-leaf which is stuck on butchers' meat sold after the Sarakosté fast. The connexion between the saints and the old gods or heroes has never been worked out; but that there often is some connexion is not only probable in itself but certain in some cases: the latest identification is that by Mr. Rendel Harris of the Dioscuri with SS. Kastulos and Polyeuctes, SS. Pro-

¹ *Folk-Lore*, vols. vii., p. 142, and x., p. 150.

tasius and Gervasius, SS. Florus and Laurus.¹ It is greatly to be desired that a full list could be compiled of the little chapels by the wayside or in deserted spots, called *ἐξωκλήσια*, which are often at least as old as Byzantine days, and might turn out to be commonly on the sites of ancient hero-shrines, as some of them certainly are. Nor are the more popular figures of superstition lacking. Everyone has heard of the Nereids, who bear still their ancient name, and are described much as they were believed in two thousand years ago; only the name now includes land-nymphs as well as water-nymphs. Milk, honey, and cakes are offered to them as to the Eumenides of old. Besides these we find in one place or another Lamia, the demon woman, Strigla, the goblin, Empousa and Mormo, the bogeys, Gillou and Gorgona, Pytho, the witch, the lame devil who perhaps represents Hephaistos, the Kalikázari, who resemble the ancient *Κήρες*, or sprites of mischief and disease, both in their acts and in the time when they range abroad. Charon, under the name Charos, still summons the dead to the nether world, and the whole popular conception of this figure is taken from the heathen world. The only borrowed element in popular mythology is, I believe, the Vampire, or Vourkólakas, whose name appears to be Slavonic, although I am not sure that his nature is wholly so.

In the folk-tales, which have never been exhaustively examined from this standpoint, we find quite a large number of echoes of mythology proper. In Crete we find the tale of Peleus and Thetis.² A young peasant fell in love with a Nereid, and was advised by a witch that when the cocks crew he should seize her by the hair, and hold fast until the cocks ceased from crowing. He did

¹ *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*, by J. Rendel Harris: Clay & Sons, 1903.

² Chourmonouzis, *Κρητικά*, p. 69; Schmidt, p. 115.

so, and she changed into a dog, a snake, a camel, and fire; he held fast, however, and obtained her for his bride. Not one word would she speak until, on the advice of the same witch, he made a big fire, and threatened to burn the child. She then cried, "Leave my child alone, dog!" seized the child, and disappeared from before his eyes. This story was told about 1825 by an old man who heard it from his grandfather; hence two transmissions carry us back close on two centuries. The same transformations are told in Eleusis of a fighting man.¹ In Zakynthos we hear of giants, huge in size, with one eye in their foreheads.² When one is born the mother dips him in a certain river, which makes him invulnerable except in the ankle by which he is held: a peculiarity which reminds us of Achilles. The whole incident of the blinding of the Cyclops, opening of the cave, and escape of the hero under a sheep, is found in an Athenian story.³ In Astypolaia, an island out of the track of travellers, whose stores I am hoping to reap soon, we hear of a winged horse, and in the same story of our old friend the wooden horse of Troy.⁴ Two brothers wish to gain access to a beautiful girl; and, says one to the other, "Brother, I have devised a plan, and let me tell it to you, that you may see if you like it. Let us find a good craftsman and tell him to make us a horse big enough for a man to go in; let him make it with screws and machinery so that it can show all its paces; let us gild it all over, and set it here and there with diamonds and gems, make a saddle with gold tassels and a golden bridle, and let it go, lacking only a voice. God willing, our business will speed that way, else we shall lose both the eggs and the basket." Another tale from the same island runs as follows: "A King had a daughter who was very beautiful, and to keep her safe from suitors he built a

¹ *Greek Folk Poetry*, Garnett, ii. 175.

² Schmidt, p. 200.

³ *Greek Folk Poetry*, ii. 84.

⁴ *Contes Populaires Grecs*, Pio, p. 85.

tower which had only one window and one iron door where no one could find it. And he put his daughter in it alone and by herself: every day her portion of food was sent to her, and she hung a plate out of the window and pulled it up."¹ This is a familiar scene, but we are nevertheless reminded of Danae.

From the same island comes another tale.² Three friends, a monk, a carpenter, and a tailor, spent the night in a shepherd's hut. They kept watch by turns, and the first watch fell to the carpenter. He sat till he was tired; then took a piece of wood, and with his tools carved it into a shape somewhat resembling a girl, and set it up in the sheepfold to frighten the tailor. The tailor's turn came: he sat until he began to nod, and then opening his eyes he suddenly caught sight of the figure. "To arms, comrades, here are the thieves!" he cried, but seeing that the block did not move, he took courage, and threw a stone at the figure, which sounded with a dull thud. "Ha, a nice trick of that cursed carpenter, devil take him," he said, "and frightened me too. Well, he made it, what shall I do?" He found out a few scraps of cloth and made a smock for it, so that to look at her you would think she was a real girl. The priest's turn came now; and seeing this figure of a woman except for the soul, he prayed to God with a pure heart, and God answered his prayer. Then follows the usual argument as to who had a right to her. Perhaps it is not too fanciful to see here a connexion with Pygmalion and Galatea; the idea is the same. One Athenian story included in Miss Garnett's interesting collection,³ gives the incident topsy-turvy: here, a princess who did not wish to marry made herself a husband of sugar, whom God brought to life after she had prayed for forty days and forty nights. In the Peloponnesus, somewhere about where Theseus passed his childhood, we read of a lad

¹ Pio, p. 129.

² Pio, p. 102.

³ *Greek Folk Poetry*, ii. 120.

borne by a village maiden to a wandering king, who left a silver pistol behind as a token.¹ The episode of the white sail appears in another story² as a white flag on the topmast. In Cyprus we have a young hero slaying a three-headed serpent and a wild boar, and a tree of golden apples guarded by a dragon.³ In Melos we have the tale of Cupid and Psyche.⁴ A story resembling that of Oedipus meets us in Cyprus,⁵ and a riddling dragon in Naxos.⁶

In a tale from Tenos, recovered by Mr. W. R. Paton, a child miraculously born, along with his mother and supposed father, is enclosed in a chest like Danae, and set adrift. Perhaps the most remarkable of all are two which I will now describe. The first, most appropriately, was from Eleusis, and describes the adventures of Saint Demetra and her daughter Aphrodite, a most beautiful girl. Aphrodite was carried off by a Turkish Aga on a black horse which breathed fire from its nostrils. Demetra questioned Sun, Moon, and Stars, but they could tell her nothing. Then, led by a Stork, she travelled far and wide without result, until she came to Eleusis; here being courteously entertained by the headman of the village and his wife, she blessed their fields. Magic and grotesque elements now enter into the tale. In the end, the headman's son rescues the ravished maiden. Demetra and her daughter went away, and were never heard of again; but ever since, by the Saint's blessing, the fields of Eleusis have been fruitful.⁷ The second comes from a peasant in Bœotia, an old man in 1846, who asked a visitor,⁸ "Do you know how the first vine was planted? No? Then I will tell you. 'When Dionysios was young, he made a journey through Hellas, to go to Naxia; but inasmuch as the way was long, he

¹ *Greek Folk Poetry*, ii. p. 28.

² Same, p. 55.

³ Same, pp. 70, 71, 77.

⁴ Same, p. 277.

⁵ Same, p. 194.

⁶ Same, p. 96.

⁷ Same, p. 171.

⁸ Hahn, *Griechische Märchen*, p. 76.

sat down to rest on a stone. As he sat there, his eye fell on a plant that grew by his feet, which looked so beautiful that he resolved to take it with him and plant it. The sun was hot on the sand, and for fear that it might wither, he found out a bird's thigh-bone and put it within. But in his blessed hand the plant grew so fast, that it grew out of both ends of the bone. He then found a lion's bone to contain the bird's bone and the plant, and the plant grew out of that as out of the other; the same happened with the thigh-bone of an ass. When he came to Naxia, he found that the plant had so entwined these bones that he could not separate them. Accordingly he planted them all together. By and by the plant put forth beautiful clusters of grapes, from which he made the first wine to give joy to man. But what a miracle happened now! As they drank they became first like birds of the air; then, as they drank more, they waxed strong as lions; and if they drank more still, they became like asses.'"

Such are a few of the echoes of ancient life which I have noted down in reading folk-tales. They are taken from three collections only, and from only a few tales out of these. They might easily be multiplied. But, as I said before, the time has not yet come for theorizing; we must first gather the facts, and to that end I urge every member of the Society according to his opportunity. Much might be done even by a gift of money. I have the collectors ready, and they progress as fast as I can pay them, but I cannot pay them much. Our Society is poor; but perhaps this hint may fall on the ear of some one who could either assist in collecting, or in publishing what is collected. I can assure any such pious benefactor that his money will not be wasted.¹ If Shakespeare is commercial English, this is a branch of natural

¹ This appeal has already met with response from one generous friend, Mr. C. Letts, who has contributed £5 5s. for collecting in *Astypalaea*.

science, in which, as we all know, lies the salvation of our souls. It is also good for trade, which is more important than any man's soul.

I have to ask the indulgence of the Society if my subject has been somewhat away from the beaten path. I was confronted with a dilemma, either to speak of a narrow field which I knew, or wisely to discourse on general topics of which I knew nothing. I have not yet had experience enough of lecturing to be able to do that. Yet, as often happens, this narrow field is the way to a wider one. I do not know any study in which we can so well trace the course of tradition as this, in which the original forms are known, and the time limits. It has its drawbacks, no doubt; the influence of written books must not be left out of account, nor must transmission and artificial revival. But with all deductions, there is light here if we look for it. I hope it may always be our aim as a Society to seek for the light.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

MIDSUMMER CUSTOMS IN MOROCCO.

BY EDWARD WESTERMARCK, PH.D.

(*Read at Meeting, 7th December, 1904*)

THE present article is based on information which I have obtained in the course of three years and a half devoted to anthropological research in Morocco, chiefly among its peasantry.

The population of Morocco consists of the following ethnic groups:—The Arabic-speaking tribes of the plains (the '*Arab*'); the Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco (the '*Jbāla*'), in whose veins, in spite of their language, probably flows much more Berber than Arab blood; the Rif Berbers (*Ruāfa*), whose country extends along the Mediterranean coast from the neighbourhood of Tetuan to the Algerian frontier; the Berbers (*Brâber*) inhabiting the mountains of Central Morocco and the eastern portion of the Great Atlas range; the Berbers (*Shluh*) inhabiting the western part of the Great Atlas, as also the Sûs country situated to the south of that range (a territory the eastern frontier of which may be roughly indicated by a line drawn from Demnat in a south-easterly direction, and the northern frontier by a slightly curved line uniting Demnat with Mogador on the Atlantic coast and following the foot of the mountains, or, in some places, intercepting a strip of the plain); and, lastly, the Berbers (*Drawa*) inhabiting the valley of the Wad Drâ in the extreme south of Morocco, a group with reference to which I have been unable to procure any reliable information. I have been

living for a considerable time among various tribes of the 'Arab on or near the Atlantic coast, the Jbâla of Northern Morocco, and the Shluḥ of the Great Atlas and the province of Hâḥa; thus my residence among the Andjra mountaineers of the Jbâla group lasted for half a year. But also the statements referring to tribes which I have not visited myself are derived from trustworthy native sources, from members of, or residents among, those tribes, with the exception perhaps of one or two cases, specially indicated, in which my informants seem to have spoken from hearsay rather than from experience.

Among these various groups of natives certain ceremonies are performed on June 24th, Old Style, the so-called *l-'ânṣāra* (in Shelḥa—i.e., the Berber dialect spoken by the Shluḥ—*l'ânṣart*) day, or on the eve of that day.

On *l-'ânṣāra* day, after sunset, the Andjra mountaineers kindle big fires in open places in their villages. Men, women, and children leap over these fires, believing that by doing so they rid themselves of all *l-bās*, or misfortune, which may be clinging to them; the sick will be cured and childless couples will have offspring. Nobody is hurt by the fire, for there is *baraka*, benign virtue, in the smoke. Some straw, as also some marjoram (*sāḥt'ar*) and alum, is burned in the *zrība*, or enclosed place outside the dwelling house where the cattle, sheep, and goats are kept at night; the smoke will make the animals thrive. The people also burn straw, dry grass, herbs, or twigs in their gardens. Thus, in the garden attached to the cottage where I was living, a small fire was lighted under each fig-tree, and I was told that if this were not done the fruit would fall before it was ripe. In places where there are bees, the people burn dry cowdung, the smoke of which will make the honey plentiful and prevent the bees from being killed by thunder. I have found similar midsummer customs among other Jbâla tribes that I have visited. In Jbel Habb I heard that on *l-'ânṣāra* eve branches are cut from

the various trees in each garden, and burned underneath the best of them. In the tribe Sáhāl the people also burn poplar twigs and *flâyû*, or pennyroyal (*Mentha Pulegium*) between the animals.

On *l'ânşāra* day the 'Arab of the tribe Mnāşara make fires outside their tents, near their animals, on their fields, and in their gardens. Large quantities of pennyroyal are burned in these fires, and over some of them the people leap three times to and fro. Sometimes small fires are also kindled inside the tents. The people say that the smoke confers blessings on everything with which it comes into contact. At Salli, on the Atlantic coast, persons who suffer from diseased eyes rub them with the ashes of *l'ânşāra* fire; and in Casablanca and Azemmur the people keep their faces over the fire, because the smoke is supposed to be good for the eyes. Among the 'Arab tribe Ulād Bu Azîz, in the province of Dukkāla, fires are burned, not for men and animals, but only for crops and fruit; and I was told that nobody would like to cut the crops of the season before *l'ânşāra* is over, so as not to lose the benefit from benign virtue inherent in the smoke.

On Midsummer Eve the Bēni Mgild, a Berber tribe of the Brāber group, light fires of straw. They leap three times over the fire, to and fro. They let some of the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and married women keep their breasts over the fire in order that their children may be strong. They paint their eyes and lips with some black powder (*l-khol*), mixed with ashes of the fire. They also dip the right forelegs of their horses into the fire, and put ashes on the forehead and between the nostrils of the horse. The inhabitants of Mequinez, again, purify their gardens and houses with the smoke of lighted poplar twigs.

The Inīknāfēn, a Shluḥ tribe in Hāḥa, burn dry cowdung among the bees. When I asked for an explanation of this custom, one of the natives answered me that, just as men are purified by water, so bees are purified by the

smoke of cowdung burned at midsummer. I heard of the same custom farther east, at Amzmiz in the Great Atlas. But among none of the Shluh tribes inhabiting those mountains I have been able to detect any other fire customs at midsummer; on the contrary, the existence of any such customs was emphatically denied by my informants. However, among various tribes in Sûs, belonging to the same Berber group, smoke is made under the fruit-trees at midsummer with a view to preventing the fruit from falling. Thus the people of Aglu make smoke of straw and rubbish mixed with the dung of cows or camels, but the heap must not take fire; if it does so, the flame is extinguished with earth, lest the fruit should become bad. In Tazerwalt, another district in Sûs, some fish from the river are roasted under the fruit-trees, the smoke being considered beneficial for the tree. But I am aware of no Shluh tribe making midsummer fires for the purpose of purifying men and animals.

Among the Rif Berbers, on the other hand, fire ceremonies are practised at midsummer as extensively as among the Jbâla. Fires are kindled over which the people leap in order to keep in good health. Fires are made for the animals, and in the fire the dried body of a wild cat is often burned, the smoke being considered wholesome for the animals. Fires are, moreover, made under the fruit-trees to prevent the fruit from falling. The ashes of the fires over which the people leap are mixed with water, and the tuft of hair which the Rif Berbers allow to grow on their heads is rubbed with this mixture so as to keep the hair from falling off.

In all these cases the beneficial effect is entirely attributed to the smoke; the magic quality of the smoke removes *l-bäs*, or misfortune, from men, animals, fruit-trees, or crops. But in some places fire ceremonies of another type are practised at midsummer, namely, ceremonies which are supposed to destroy *l-bäs* by the flame. For

this purpose the Bēni Mgild burn on Midsummer Eve three sheaves of unthreshed wheat or barley, "one for the children, one for the crops, and one for the animals." On the same occasion they burn the tent of a widow who has never given birth to a child; and by so doing they think they rid the village of misfortune. A very similar custom seems to prevail among another tribe belonging to the same Berber group, the Zémmur. According to one informant, a native of Mequinez, they drive off the misfortune from their place by burning the tent of some widow whose family have died in fighting; whilst in the neighbouring tribe, Bēni Āḥ'sen, I was told that the Zémmur at midsummer burn a tent which has belonged to somebody killed in warfare during a feast, or, if there be no such person in the village, the tent of the *fḥī*, or schoolmaster. Both among the Bēni Mgild and among the Zémmur the burned tent is replaced by a new one. Among the Arabic-speaking Bēni Āḥ'sen it is the custom for those who live near the river Sbû to make a little hut of straw at midsummer, set light to it, and let it float down the river. The people of Salli burn a straw hut on the river Bu Ragrâg, which flows outside the town;¹ whilst in the neighbouring town Rabat the same ceremony is sometimes performed in the tanks of the gardens.

Beside smoke and fire customs, water ceremonies are very commonly practised at midsummer. On *l-'ânṣāra* day the people of the Andjra bathe in the sea or in the rivers; for on that day all water is endowed with *baraka*, which removes sickness and misfortune. They also bathe their animals: horses, mules, and donkeys,

¹ Chenier wrote at the end of the eighteenth century (*The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, 1788, i. 293 sq.):—"At Sallee, when the harvest is gathered before the feast of St. John, which among the Moors corresponds with the fifth of July, I have seen young people collect reeds and straw into a heap, set them on float down the river, light them in a blaze as they swam, and sport round."

cattle, sheep, and goats. Many saints of Northern Morocco whose "tombs" are situated on the sea-shore have their feasts on *l'ânşāra* day—for instance, Sidi l-Māhfi at l-Kşar s-sğêr in Andjra, Sidi Kâsem in the Faḥs, Sidi Hāméd ben Mārzok at Azila; and on these occasions much bathing takes place in the sea. Ceremonial bathing on *l'ânşāra* day prevails among various, if not all, tribes of the Jbāla group. I also found it prevalent among the Bēni Āh'sen and at Salli, on the Atlantic coast; whilst in Rabat, Mequinez, and Fez, people on that day pour water over each other in the streets or from the roofs of their houses without giving offence to anybody by doing so. On the other hand, I have found no water customs at midsummer among the 'Arab of the tribe Mnāşara, or Shawia or Dukkāla; nor among the Brāber of the tribe Bēni Mgild; nor among the Shluḥ of the Great Atlas. But midsummer bathing occurs among some Shluḥ in Sūs. I was told by an old man from Tazerwalt that on *l'ânşart* day children bathe in springs and grown-up people in their houses. In Aglu, men, women, and children on the same occasion bathe in the sea or in springs or rivers, maintaining that if they do so they will suffer from no disease during the whole year. And if a woman is desirous of knowing whether she will be blessed with a child or not, she goes to the sea-shore on *l'ânşart* day and on the two following days, and lets seven waves go over her body each time; then she knows that, if she is going to have a child at all, she will have it very soon. In this case magic has dwindled into divination. According to all accounts which I have obtained from Rif Berbers, midsummer bathing is extensively practised in their country; animals also are bathed.

Whilst at midsummer all water is supposed to be endowed with magic energy, there is a certain kind of water to which such energy is attributed in a special degree, namely, water which has fallen on April 27th, Old Style

(*nhar läisan*). In Andjra, if it rains on that day, the water (*l-ma dē-läisan*) is collected and afterwards used for a variety of purposes. On *l-ānṣāra* day about sunset a ring was painted with cowdung and red earth mixed with such water round the trunk of every fig-tree in the garden where I was living. The people told me that this would prevent the figs from falling and make them good, by giving *baraka* to the trees and averting from them the evil eye of any person who passes by. Those who have a sufficient quantity of *l-ma dē-läisan* wash themselves with it on *l-ānṣāra* day. But this water is miracle-working also on other occasions. There is *baraka* in it from the beginning. A little of it is very beneficial to the crops, whereas much of it destroys them, because the water is supposed to be salt. When it rains on April 27th the people let some rain fall on their bare heads so as to make the head strong. When *l-ma dē-läisan* touches the eyes of poisonous animals, such as snakes or scorpions, it makes the animal blind. Mixed with tar it is, in the hottest part of the summer, sprinkled on the door-posts to prevent snakes from entering the house. It is also sprinkled over the heaps of corn after threshing to protect them against the evil eye. Mixed with an egg, some *henna*, and seeds of cress (*l-horf*) it is given as medicine to cows suffering from stomach trouble. It is drunk by persons who have eaten bewitched food. It is poured over a plate on which a certain sura of the Koran has been written with Moorish ink, and is then given to schoolboys to drink so as to strengthen their memory. But in order to preserve its magic efficacy *l-ma dē-läisan* must on no account be allowed to touch the ground. I am told that, if there is no rain on April 27th, water taken from seven springs which are never used for drinking purposes is on *l-ānṣāra* day mixed with cowdung and red earth as a substitute for *l-ma dē-läisan*. A belief which I found among the Shluḥ is worth mentioning in this connection. My teacher in Shelḥa, a

scribe from Glawi in the Great Atlas, told me that at midsummer, for one hour, the water of the sea becomes sweet, whilst the water of springs and rivers become salt. When that water flows over the Indian-corn fields the corn is affected by it in a peculiar way: those who eat of the corn get nervous and quarrelsome. As only astrologers know the hour when the change takes place, the people are unable to regulate the irrigation of their fields so as to keep the injurious water away from their crops.

The Rif Berbers, Brâbers, and Shluḥ are in the habit of throwing earth on the fruit-trees at midsummer, whereas I have not found this custom among any of the Arabic-speaking tribes. The Bēni Mgild throw earth taken from a place where three roads meet, not only on their fruit-trees, but over their animals and bees; this, they say, will keep the animals in good condition and prevent the trees getting dry. Among the same tribe unmarried girls hang little bags filled with earth taken from such a place round their necks for the purpose of soon getting a husband and keeping off the evil eye. The Inīknāfēn, in Hāḥa, strew earth over the vegetables growing in their gardens, as well as at their fruit-trees. Among the Shluḥ of Aglu the sprinkling of the fruit-trees with fine earth or dust alternates with the smoke custom referred to above. The dust is by preference taken from some road frequented by many animals and men.

Various other kinds of magic are practised at midsummer for the benefit of the people. The Rif Berbers and the Andjra mountaineers make a few cuts in the trunks of their fig-trees so that the juice oozes out; this is supposed to prevent the tree from getting dry and the fruit from falling. "Male figs," wrapped up in bundles of straw or pennyroyal, are hung in the female trees. The smell of the pennyroyal is considered good for the tree; and it was suggested by a native that the "male figs" are hung there in order to induce the female figs to remain,

just as women like to stay where there are men. In Andjra I also saw the people hanging oleander twigs in their fig-trees. A few days before *l'-ânşāra* some pennyroyal is, moreover, placed under the roofs of the houses. There is *baraka* in it, but only if it is gathered before midsummer. It is used as medicine for colds and coughs, and is applied externally to wounds. When it is to be taken internally, its dry leaves are pulverised and the powder is mixed with *kesksu*, the national dish of the Moors, or with milk. Shortly before *l'-ânşāra* some oleander branches are also carried into the houses and preserved under the roof, where they serve as charms against the evil eye. In cases of sickness caused by the evil eye the leaves are burned and the patient lets the smoke pass underneath his clothes, inhaling it as it comes through. The greatest efficacy is ascribed to the so-called "sultan of the oleander" (*sūltān d'fel*), a stalk with a cluster of four pairs of leaves round the stem. The stalk is used as a pen, and the leaves, written upon, are used as charms. The "sultan of the oleander" is always endowed with *baraka*, but its magic power is greatest when it has been cut immediately before midsummer. The oleander which grows in dry places is more efficacious than that which grows in rivers. When brought to the house, the branches must not touch the ground, lest they should lose their *baraka*. Like oleander and pennyroyal, marjoram is gathered just before *l'-ânşāra*, and preserved to be used as medicine when occasion requires. The dry leaves of this herb are burned and the smoke is inhaled by persons troubled with cough, whilst, in the case of eye diseases, the eyes are held over the smoke. Its stalk is lighted and the regions of the eyes are touched with the glowing top. When a person is suffering from jaundice, the nails and various parts of the body—the temples, the forehead over the bridge of the nose, the top of the head, the joints of the arms and legs—are treated in a similar manner. On

L'ânşāra day the Andjra people take home from the market some thistles, and hang them in their fruit-trees as a protection against the evil eye. On that day they also steal from the market some of the stones which are used as weights, to suspend them on their fruit-trees for the same object. I was told that their efficacy as charms is due to the *baraka* with which they are endowed, as also to the fact that many eyes have been gazing on them at the market. By catching so many glances of the eye, these stones have themselves become like eyes; and as the eye serves as a transmitter of baneful energy, it also, naturally, is capable of throwing back such energy on the person from whom it emanates, hence the image of an eye is often used as a charm against the evil eye. In another mountain tribe, the Sâhāl, I heard that, as in Andjra, pennyroyal and marjoram are cut immediately before *L'ânşāra*, taken to the houses, and afterwards used for medicinal purposes.

In many parts of Morocco certain eating ceremonies take place on Midsummer Day. A dish is made of various kinds of corn and pulse: wheat, maize, Indian corn, barley, peas, chick-peas, beans, and so forth. The corn and pulse are put in water the previous evening; and, in many cases at least, they are boiled in their natural state, and eaten with the husks on. The object of this ceremony is to secure good crops. In Shawia the people on *L'ânşāra* day roast and eat some Indian corn on the field, and also take some to their homes. There they boil the heads without removing the grains, together with two handfuls of beans and four handfuls of wheat, which has not been kept in the *māṭmāra*—their subterranean granary—but in the house. This dish is called *şeršem*; there is *baraka* in it, "it is dear to God." It is eaten with sour milk, and the people generally present a portion of it to their neighbours. Among the Ida Ugër'd, a Shluḥ tribe in Hâḥa, a honey-comb is cut into two pieces on Midsummer Day and eaten if there is honey in it; I was told that if

this ceremony were not performed, the bees would have no honey. Eating ceremonies at midsummer prevail among some, but not all, of the Arabic-speaking tribes on the plains, among the Rif Berbers—who call the dish eaten on that occasion *imšiah*—among the Bēni Mgild and probably other tribes of the Brâber group, and among the Shluḥ of the Great Atlas. On the other hand, I am not aware of their occurrence among the Shluḥ of the Sūs country nor among the Jbāla.

From what has just been said, it appears that these eating ceremonies, like other midsummer customs, are intended to serve a useful purpose. But they are not, like the fire and water ceremonies, purificatory in their nature, they are multiplicative. Some food—corn, or pulse, or honey—is eaten with a view to increasing the supply of the same kind of food. The idea underlying this practice is not, as might perhaps be supposed, that of imitative magic; it is intended to serve as a conductor of blessings. In order to be efficacious, a blessing requires a wire, a material medium, through which it is transmitted from the person who blesses to the object blessed; and the closer the contact between them, the more readily is the blessing transferred. Now, the eating of a thing implies the most intimate contact possible between the thing eaten and the person who eats it; and, according to the rule of *pars pro toto*, so commonly applied in magic, to communicate blessings to a few representatives of a certain species is to bless the whole species. When the blessing is meant for the crops, it is desirable that the grains, peas, beans, and so forth, which are eaten, should so far as possible resemble those growing in the field. This seems to be the reason why they are kept in water overnight; why they are boiled in their natural state; why the husks are not taken off; why, of the Indian corn, the whole head is boiled. My informant expressly said that the Bēni Mgild put corn and pulse in water overnight "so

that they should look like fresh ones the following morning"; and the Andjra people, who perform the same ceremony not at midsummer but at New Year (of the solar year, Old Style), maintain that, if the seeds are much swollen in the morning, the crops will be good. Similar notions in all probability account for the eating of the honey-comb.

In Morocco ceremonial eating is, in fact, a very common means of transferring blessings. I shall state a few facts which, though referring to ceremonies practised on other occasions, will help us to understand the ceremonial eating at midsummer. On the day when ploughing begins, the Andjra people take to the field some bread made without yeast (*l-ftäir*), as also some ordinary bread and dried fruit. A loaf of *l-ftäir* is stuck on the horns of each ox, and is allowed to remain till the evening, when it is eaten by the owner of the ox and his family. The rest of the food is eaten on the spot by all people present, among whom the schoolboys—who are always regarded as semi-holy—are particularly conspicuous. When they have finished the meal, they say some words like these:—*Alláh t'a'äla iréskek w' irzákna fi s-sra' wä s-zerré'a ş-şáhhä wä l-hēna wä l-ämär t-twil, Alláh t'a'äla raunek 'al' l-hart*, "May God the highest bestow on you" (that is, on the owner of the field) "and bestow on us wheat and seed, health and security and a long life, may God the highest help you with the ploughing." In the Rif country a loaf of bread is broken over the ploughbeam; part of it is given to the oxen to eat, and the rest is eaten by the persons present. Among the 'Arab of Dukkâla a big wheaten loaf is eaten by the boys on that spot of the field which will be first turned up by the plough, whereupon they say, "May God make the ploughing easy for you." Among the Shluḥ of Aglu a big dish filled with *tagúlla*, a kind of hard porridge, is taken to the place where the ploughing is about to commence. In the middle of the *tagúlla* a hole has been made and filled

with oil. Into this the ploughman dips the top of the plough-share three times, saying:—*Bismillāhi ya rābb'i, adaḡtkēmm'ēl lḡērad lli mu ntsēbb'ab*, "In the name of God, O God, may thou complete for us this good thing which we are undertaking." The ploughman then sprinkles the animals with oil, repeating the following words:—*Bismillā afillāḡikēmm'ēl rābb'i lḡērad lli mu ntsēbb'ab, atnkērz slhēn'a, nēmgērt slhēn'a, nasit slhēn'a, nēsrutt slhēn'a, nššit slhēn'a dēššāht, a-sḡdi rābb'i*, "In the name of God, may God complete for us this good thing in which we are engaged, may we plough in peace, may we reap in peace, may we gather in peace, may we thresh in peace, may we eat in peace and with health, O Lord God." The rest of the oil and the *tagūlla* are eaten by those present. Among the Shluḡ of Ida Ugēr'd I myself took part in a similar ceremony. When the oxen had been yoked, a boy brought a plate with argan-oil, in the midst of which was placed a handful of *tūmmīt*, a mixture of roasted barley and salt. With the plate in his hand, my host then went round the animals and the plough, and sprinkled them with a few drops of the oil. He began the ceremony with the usual *bismillā*, "In the name of God," and went on muttering his blessings in an inaudible voice. When this was done, he mixed small lumps of the *tūmmīt* with oil and gave them to the boys to eat, and then similar lumps to the others present; all of us had to eat a lump. The Bēni Mgild, I am told, before they begin to sow, roast some wheat, one portion of which is eaten by the men in the mosque and another portion by the women in their tents, whilst a third part is thrown on the field immediately before the sowing commences; my informant said that this is done with a view to securing good crops. In Dukkāla, before a new tent is pitched for the first time, some *šeršem*, prepared of beans, chickpeas, wheat, salt, and water, is eaten on the tent-cloth. This meal is considered a good *fāl*, as the 'Arab say: it will

have the effect of filling the tent in the future with various kinds of food. In Andjra and elsewhere a meal similar to that which in other parts of Morocco is partaken on Midsummer Day is eaten on New-Year's Eve (Old Style), the so-called *lils l-hagħsa*. The people then bless the food by saying:—*Allāh l'a'āla yārzaḡna fī s-sra' wā s-zerrē'a fī r-rezḡ wā l-āmār*, "May God the highest bestow on us wheat and seed, good fortune and a long life." The Jbāla call this dish *šīḡha*. It is thus even literally identical with the midsummer meal of the Rif Berbers (*lmsīah*).

Whilst the eating ceremony which among some tribes is practised at midsummer is among other tribes practised on New-Year's Eve of the solar year, we frequently meet with fire and water customs in the beginning of the Muhammedan year, on *l-āšur* day, that is, on the 10th of Moḡārram, the first month in the Muhammedan calendar. At Demnat, in the Great Atlas, I was present (in disguise) when, on *l-āšur* eve, a big fire was made outside the governor's house, and people were leaping over it to and fro. When asking for an explanation of this ceremony, I was told that the people thereby insure their lives till the next *āšur*. That this fire, like the midsummer fire, is meant to purify them from all kinds of evil, is obvious from the words which they utter when leaping over it. In Aglu, in Sūs, the fire is lighted at three different points by an unmarried girl belonging to a family reputed for their good luck. When the fire has burned down, the young men leap over the glowing embers, saying:—*Nssūsni gigm atāšurt iggūr'dan ūla tllkin ūla tlmudān l'hālb ūla tī lḡṣan nsgrām daḡ imāl ylmāl imāl ylmāl imāl ylmāl sēlhēn'a deṣṣāht*, "We shook on you, O Lady 'Āšur, fleas and lice and the illnesses of the heart as also those of the bones; we shall pass through you again next year and the following years with safety and health." Then the charred branches are carried to Sidi Búsmēn's sanctuary, and the

people who carry them say :—*N'sārd iṅṅūr' da ūla tllkin ūla ttmuḍan ūla lauḥaṣad aḡḡārrānin*, "We make complaint against the rats and lice and illnesses and beasts which have hurt us." Both in Aglu and Glawi, in the Great Atlas, smaller fires are also made, over which the animals are taken. At Demnat, girls who are anxious to marry boil water over the *'āṣur* fire and wash themselves with the water; and in Dukkāla diseased eyes are rubbed with the ashes of that fire. *'Āṣur* fires seem to occur among the Shluḥ in general, as also among the 'Arab of the plains; whereas I have found no traces of such fires among the Rif Berbers and the Jbāla. I am told that among the Bēni Mgild a white chicken is burned in the tent on *l-'āṣur* day, but this seems to be the only fire ceremony practised by them on that occasion. Among the 'Arab of the tribe Mnāṣara a fire is only made in the place where the sheep are kept, and the tail of the sheep which has been previously sacrificed at "the Great Feast" (*l-'āḍid l-kbir*) is roasted on the fire. The person who roasts it says:—*'Āj 'āj ma t'āled ḡnēmna ḡer n-n'āj*: "*'Āj 'āj*, may our ewes only give birth to females."

Water ceremonies similar to those practised at midsummer are very common at *l-'āṣur*. On *l-'āṣur* morning all water or, according to some people, only spring water, is endowed with *baraka*, especially before sunrise. The people then bathe and pour water over each other, and, in some places, sprinkle their animals, tents, or rooms with water. In Dukkāla a portion of the water which has been brought home at *l-'āṣur* is preserved till next *'āṣur*; and some of it is kept to be taken as medicine, or poured on the place where the corn is threshed (*l-gā'a*), or put into the vessel (*l-kāmḡom*) where money is laid before it is buried in the ground. In the last-mentioned case the *'āṣur* water serves as a charm against the earth-spirits. The 'Arab of the plains are always in danger of losing their money: if they keep it in their houses their governor easily lays

hands on it, and if they bury it the spirits, or *juûn*, may run away with it; but as a rule they seem to be less afraid of the *juûn* than of their governors. It is interesting to note that among the Jbâla and Rif Berbers, or at least among many of them, no ceremonial bathing occurs at *l'âsur*, the ordinary custom of watering the graves being the only water-ceremony prevalent among them on that occasion.

The *'ânşâra* and *'âsur* customs largely supplement each other. Among tribes which practise no fire or water ceremonies at *l'ânşâra* we may be sure to find such ceremonies at *l'âsur*, and *vice versa*. And even where they occur on both occasions, more importance is always attached to them in the one case than in the other. In this competition between *l'ânşâra* and *l'âsur* Muhammedanism is in favour of *l'âsur*. Many of the religious people and scribes altogether disapprove of *l'ânşâra*, maintaining that all ceremonies connected with it are bad. A good schoolmaster who acts up to his religion keeps the boys in school on *l'ânşâra* day, refusing the money they offer him to get a holiday; however, my informant adds, there are very few schoolmasters who are so conscientious. It is important to note that the *'ânşâra* ceremonies are most prominent among the Rif Berbers, the Arabic-speaking Jbâla—a portion of whom are even by themselves recognized to be of the same stock as the Rif Berbers,—and among the Brâber of Central Morocco; whereas among the Shluḥ, who have been influenced by Muhammedanism in a much higher degree than any of the other Berber groups, and among the Arab of the plains (with the exception of Arabic-speaking tribes bordering on the Brâber district), the midsummer customs are chiefly restricted to ceremonies calculated to promote vegetation. Considering, further, that I have been unable to find a single trace of midsummer ceremonies among Arabs who have not come in contact with the Berber race, I venture to suppose that such ceremonies prevailed among the indigenous Berbers.

It might be supposed that the word *l-'anšāra* itself could perhaps give us the key to the origin of the Moorish midsummer customs. But it practically tells us nothing. In its origin it is neither Berber nor Arabic. It is derived from the Hebrew *'ašara*, which means an assembly of people for the celebration of a religious feast.¹ In the times of Josephus it denoted Pentecost, and it has the same meaning in the Talmud.² To this day the Arabic form *el-'anšarah* is used by the Copts for Whitsunday.³ Considering that the real meaning of the word is feast in general, it is not surprising that it was adopted by the Arabs and Berbers as a name for the midsummer festival. Every student of the language of the Berbers knows how ready they have been to make use of foreign words. The importation of Arabic expressions in the various Berber dialects is truly immense; even the original numerals have been almost entirely replaced by the Arabic ones. Hence the midsummer festival may very well be a genuine Berber custom, although its name is derived from the Arabic form of a Hebrew word.

Nor do we learn anything as regards the origin of the *'anšāra* custom from the account which the Moors themselves give of it. They say that in the time of King Nemrud (Nimrod) there was in the East a Christian woman by name *'Ānšāra*, who was opposed to Sidna *Ābrāhim* (Abraham) on account of his religion; Sidna *Ābrāhim* was of course a Muhammedan, the ancestor of all the Muhammedans. *'Ānšāra* had an excellent sight, she could see a distance of seven days' journey; and she used to watch Sidna *Ābrāhim* and inform his enemies of his whereabouts. She also used to strew thorns on the road where he was walking. All this made Sidna *Ābrāhim's*

¹ Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, 1869, p. 136.

² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

³ Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1871, ii. 287.

friends very angry with 'Ānṣāra. They finally caught the malevolent lady and burned her. Hence Sidna Ābrāhim's descendants still make fires every year at midsummer, and call the ceremony *l-'ānṣāra*. This is a good instance of myth-making serving the purpose of explaining ritual. The midsummer, or *l-'ānṣāra*, bonfire is explained by the burning of a Christian woman 'Ānṣāra because of the phonetic resemblance between the word '*ānṣāra* and the word *nāṣāra*, which is the name given by the Moors to the Christians.

Whilst, so far as I know, no midsummer customs have been found among pure Arabs, uninfluenced by contact with Berbers, such customs, as is well known, are or have been universally practised in Europe. And the European midsummer ceremonies are to a large extent similar to those prevalent in Morocco. In Europe, also, magical plants are culled on Midsummer Eve, fires are kindled at midsummer, and in some places live animals are burned in the fires; even water-ceremonies exactly similar to those in Morocco have been noticed in certain districts of Germany, Italy, and elsewhere.¹ It also seems that all these practices are performed in Europe for the same purposes as in Morocco. Various plants are gathered on account of the benign virtue with which they are supposed to be endowed on Midsummer Eve. As for the fire-ceremonies, I cannot subscribe to Dr. Frazer's opinion that the best explanation of these seems to be the one given by Mannhardt, namely, that they are sun-charms or magical ceremonies intended to ensure a proper supply of sunshine for men, animals, and plants.² As a matter of fact, in Europe, as well as in Morocco, a purificatory purpose is expressly ascribed to them by the very persons who practise them; and, far from supposing like Dr. Frazer that the purgative aspect of fire may in these cases be secondary, or only

¹ Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, ii. 588.

² Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, iii. 300.

a later misinterpretation of the custom,¹ I fail to see that the fire-ceremonies have served any other purpose. It seems to me that in Dr. Frazer's exhaustive description of these ceremonies there is not a single fact which would make Mannhardt's hypothesis at all probable. Dr. Frazer says: "The custom of rolling a burning wheel down a hillside, which is often observed at these times, seems a very natural imitation of the sun's course in the sky."² To me it appears as a method of distributing the purificatory energy over the fields or vineyards. Notice, for instance, the following statements:—In the Rhön Mountains, Bavaria, "a wheel wrapt in combustibles was kindled and rolled down the hill; and the young people rushed about the fields with their burning torches and brooms . . . In neighbouring villages of Hesse . . . it is thought that wherever the burning wheels roll, the fields will be safe from hail and storm."³ At Volkmarsen, in Hesse, "in some places tar-barrels or wheels wrapt in straw used to be set on fire, and then sent rolling down the hillside. In others the boys light torches and whisks of straw at the bonfires and rush about brandishing them in their hand."⁴ In Münsterland "boys with blazing bundles of straw run over the fields to make them fruitful."⁵ The rolling of the burning wheel, then, is only one method out of many of distributing the magic energy of the midsummer bonfire. Dr. Frazer says: "The custom of throwing blazing discs, shaped like suns, into the air is probably also a piece of imitative magic."⁶ But why should it not, in conformity with other practices, be regarded as a means of purifying the air? According to old writers, the object of midsummer fires was to disperse the aerial dragons.⁷ Dr. Frazer says: "The influence which these bonfires are supposed to exert on the weather and on vegetation, goes

¹ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, iii. 314.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 243 sq.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 301.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 254.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iii. 267.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 301.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii. 255.

to show that they are sun-charms, since the effects ascribed to them are identical with those of sunshine."¹ But these effects are really such as would result from purification rather than from sunshine; they are not restricted to vegetation, they apply to animals and men as well. Moreover, in Europe, as in Morocco, the magic efficacy is often attributed to the smoke rather than to the flame. That the European bonfires are essentially intended to serve as means of purgation is all the more probable, as they also, like the Moorish bonfires, alternate with water-ceremonies, which could not possibly have anything to do with the sun, but which are obviously of a purificatory character.

Nor do I believe that Dr. Frazer has adduced any solid reason for his suggestion that the animals which are sometimes burned at midsummer represent the spirit of vegetation.² The smoke produced by the burning of certain animals at that time is considered to possess magic efficacy, just as is the case with the smoke from certain plants. It seems that the animals which are most commonly burned in European bonfires, either at midsummer or at other times of the year, are cats; and in Morocco the Rif Berbers and Jbâla burn wild-cats under their horses or mules when ill, the smoke being considered beneficial to the animal on other occasions besides midsummer. In Russia a white cock was sometimes burned in the midsummer bonfire,³ just as a white cock or chicken is burned by the Bēni Mgild in Morocco on *l'-âšur* day; and among the latter at least the reason for this practice is, as they say, to make the year "white," that is, lucky, a white chicken being considered a lucky animal.

How, then, shall we explain the fact that both in Europe and in Morocco fire and water ceremonies are practised at midsummer with the same object in view? Is it likely that the Berbers borrowed the custom from Europe? For

¹ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, iii. 303.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 323 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 325.

my own part I am inclined to answer this question in the negative. We know that in Spain bonfires were kindled at midsummer both by the Moors and Spaniards,¹ but there is no evidence that the one people had borrowed the practice from the other; indeed, that the Moors did not learn it from the Spaniards is almost proved by the circumstance that the Moorish term for Midsummer passed into Spanish under the form *alhansaro*.² But the fact to which I attribute the greatest importance is a statement made by St. Augustine in one of his Sermons. He says that in his days it was a custom in Libya to go to the sea and bathe there at midsummer, and he denounces this as a relic of paganism.³ I therefore suppose that the purification ceremonies which are practised in Morocco at midsummer are old Berber customs. And considering that purification ceremonies at midsummer, so far as I know, occur only in Europe and Northern Africa, I cannot help thinking that this coincidence gives some additional strength to the hypothesis according to which there is a racial affinity between the Berbers and most European nations of the present day. It may be that the midsummer ceremonies of Europe and Northern Africa, or at least those of a purificatory character, date from a period when such ceremonies were common to the Mediterranean race.

EDWARD WESTERMARCK.

¹ Dozy and Engelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ St. Augustine, *Sermo* cxvi., in Migne's *Patrologiae cursus completus*, xviii.-xxxix. 1021: "Natali Joannis . . . de solemnitate superstitiosa pagana, Christiani ad mare veniebant et ibi se baptizabant." Cf. Herodotus's statement (ii, 50; iv, 188), that the Libyans worshipped Poseidon.

SOME NOTES ON THE HUCULS.

COMPILED BY M. L. HODGSON.

(See *ante*, p. 5.)

THE information which follows comes in the first instance from the fascinating account of the Huculs given by Professor Włodzimierz Szuchiewicz of the University of Lemberg, Austria, in the three volumes of his work entitled *Huculszczyna*. This work is written in Polish, and is therefore to most Englishmen a closed book, although much can be learnt from the beautiful photographs and coloured plates with which it is filled. Through the extreme kindness and courtesy of the author, and the equally valued kind help of Professor Paul Postel of Lemberg University, who has spared no trouble in answering questions on the subject, I am able to give the Folklore Society some glimpses into the life of this most interesting tribe, chiefly gathered from the letters of my friend Professor Postel.

On the northern slopes of the Carpathians, in the Province of Galicia, live four Slavic tribes: the Górale, the Lemki, the Bojki, and the Huculi. (The pronunciation is Hützuls.) The Górale, living in the valleys near the Tatra Mountains, belong to the Polish nation, and are Roman Catholics, the other three tribes are Ruthenians, and belong to the Greek Church. The Huculs are without doubt the most interesting of these tribes, and have preserved to this day their ancient customs and original dress. They live near the frontiers

of Hungary and Bukowina, in the eastern part of the Carpathians, in the valleys of the Prut and Czeremosz, in a part of the country called Pokutia, formerly the object of continual struggles between the ancient kingdom of Poland and Wallachia. They number about 60,000, including 2000 Jews. The Jews have of late years settled in the villages, and introduced brandy to the tribe, at the same time taking from them many cottages and much land.

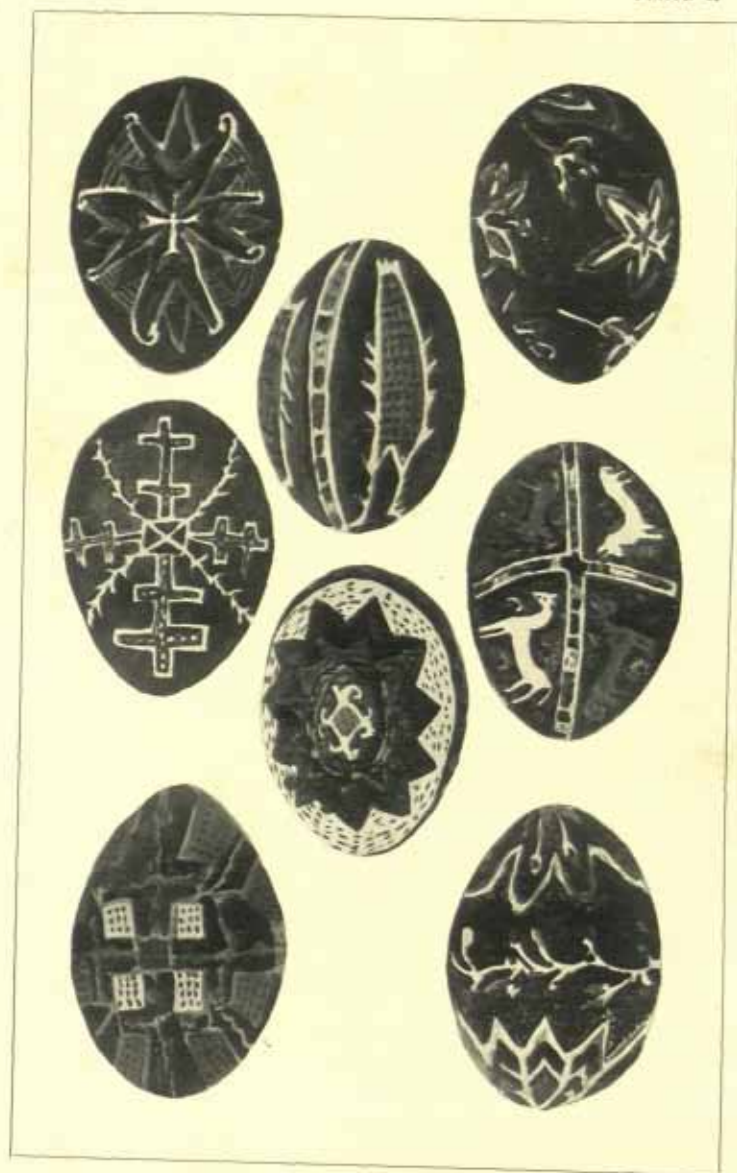
The tourist visiting the picturesque valleys of the Czeremosz and upper Prut will from time to time meet shepherds and country people whose gaily coloured dress necessarily attracts his attention. The Huculs like gay colours, especially red, which contrasts extremely well with the green background of forest and meadow. These simple people live on what their cattle and fields afford and wear clothes made by themselves from the wool of their sheep, or threads of their own hemp. Caps and shoes are also of their own peculiar make, and only to be seen amongst them. These good and simple-natured people would be quite independent and content were it not for the Jews and the military system. The latter forces their boys to spend some years abroad, and when they return, they bring back the vices of the large towns, as well as diseases previously unknown. The small horses, which carry their riders safely over most perilous mountain paths, are beautiful little animals. Both men and women ride astride, and the latter are generally seen complacently smoking their pipes in company with the men. The Huculs, having been formerly very wealthy, were able to satisfy their love and taste for fine and beautiful things. Many of them possessed extensive pastures, some 30 to 40 horses, and large herds of cattle, with hundreds of sheep. Everywhere in his mountains the Hucul felt free and self-dependent, like the Kosak in his steppe. The waters of the Prut carried

the timber from the mountains as far as Odessa; and Armenian merchants brought them beautiful weapons from Hungary or Constantinople.

These happy times have passed away; the levelling modern institutions of school and the military system have proved unpropitious. To-day, owing to these courses, and more particularly to the settlement of Jews in their midst, one can hardly find one rich Hucul. All these circumstances have contributed to the fast decay of his wealth and his pride, and some twenty years ago the finishing touch was put, when the railway from Lemberg through Worochta to Hungary was opened.

The imaginary world in which the Hucul lives still differs widely from the real one. He believes that the air and surface of the earth are inhabited by innumerable spirits (night-spirits, forest-spirits, etc.). He is extremely pious with regard to religious observances and ceremonies, although his morality would not be approved by an Englishman. On rising in the morning he makes the sign of the Cross three times, and recites a prescribed prayer. The same is done on going to bed and before and after every meal. When leaving his home he makes the sign of the Cross on the threshold of his room. Not only does he celebrate the numerous feasts prescribed by the Greek Church, but also those of Saint George, Elijah, and other saints. Many ceremonies which have been brought down from pagan times are observed on these days besides the religious ones, and even the religious ones are for the most part pagan in origin. Fasting in Lent is observed with the utmost rigour. For forty days the Huculs, as well as all other Ruthenian peoples, forego all meat: especially conscientious in this are the young girls, as they are persuaded that fasting assures them an early marriage.

Pagan creeds have so mingled with Christian ones that the latter are often degraded. A general belief is



HUCUL EASTER EGGS.

(See page 53.)

To face p. 50.



WEDDING INVITATION, LEMBERG.

that the Mother of God and the Holy Virgin are two persons. All changes and accidents of everyday life are attributed to spirits. They will drink the milk of the cows, lull to sleep those who should be on guard, cause trees to fall; they thunder and send the lightning, and such like things. Of great interest is the remnant of belief in a good and bad god, the latter being called Arinyk. Much could be said about their strong belief in witchcraft did space permit.

The Huculs have their own cosmogony, which is exactly similar to that preserved among the inhabitants of the Ukraine in Russia. Professor Szuchiewicz, of Lemberg, who has spent more than twenty years in collecting ethnological material and objects connected with the Huculs, is about to publish the 4th volume of his work, which will contain the cosmogony and other traditions of the highest ethnological interest.

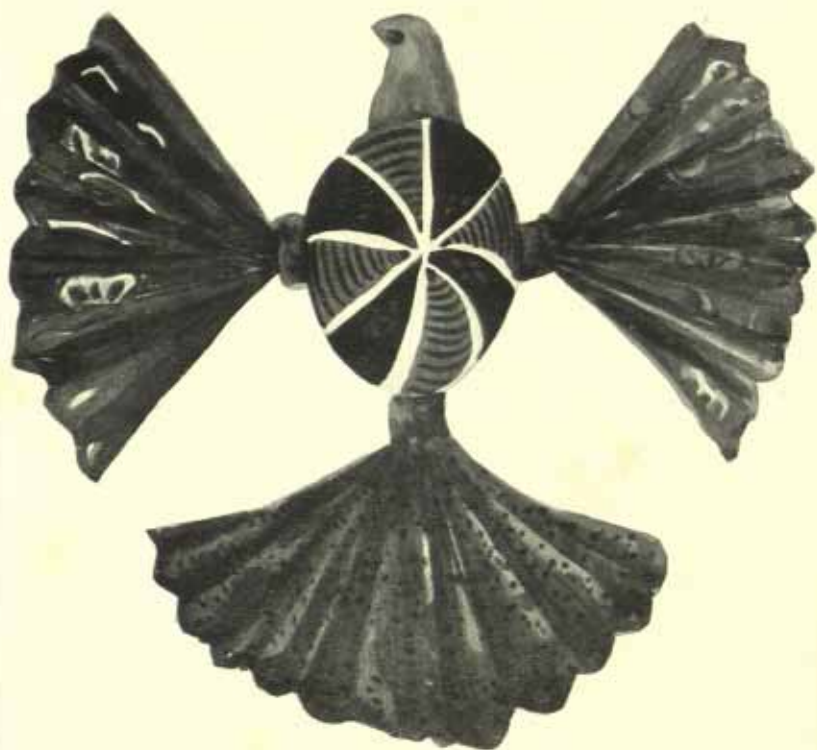
MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The leaves of the berwinck (*vinca minor*) are of great importance during the wedding festivities of Huculs as well as of Ruthenians. The wreaths of the young couple are made of, and the dishes ornamented with, these leaves, in the same way that the myrtle is used in Germany. Besides this, a small fir-tree is decorated and richly ornamented with variegated gay shreds of paper, red and white wool, flowers, golden threads, and so on. This little tree is always carried before the bride and bridegroom by one of the most respected husbandmen of the village, who regards this office as one of great honour. He carries it before the couple on going to and coming from the church and cottage where the wedding festival takes place. Here he puts it on the table before the places of the nuptial pair, where it remains till the end of

the marriage ceremonies, sometimes lasting for 8 or 10 days. After this the tree is nailed to the gate of the farm, where it stays till wind and rain have destroyed it. On the reproduction of a wedding invitation (Plate II.),¹ it will be noticed that, by the caprice of him who drew it, a girl carries the fir-tree.

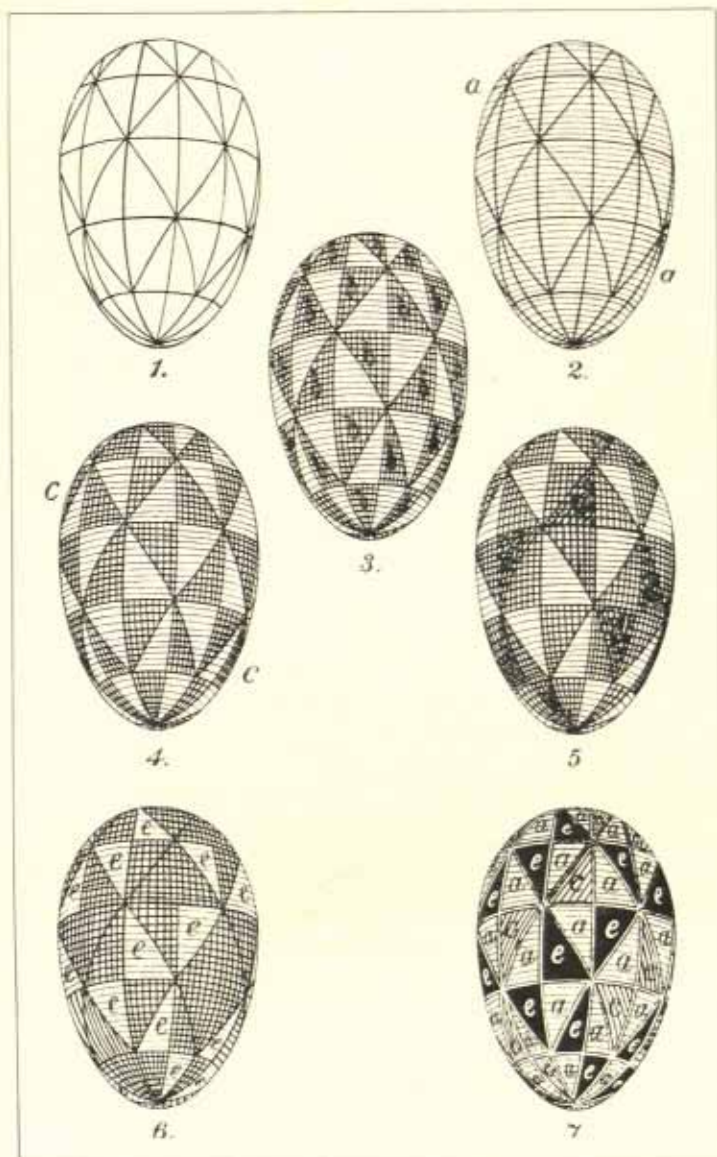
There are a great number of wedding songs which play an important part in the festivities. Another custom before the wedding is, when the youth who is courting sends his match-makers (generally esteemed friends of his family) to the house of the girl. In proof of their good breeding they will not fulfil their commission in plain words, but they will begin by relating a tale of a hunter who pursued an otter, which leapt into a pond, and from thence into the house in which they are. During this preface, the parents of the girl prepare a luncheon, consisting of wheat bread and whisky (*vodka*), while the girl gives them a piece of needlework prepared by her for the bridegroom. Finally the suitors give their message in form. After the marriage, which takes place in the Greek-Catholic Church at 8 o'clock in the morning, the bridegroom returns with his guests to his father's house, and the bride to that of her parents. In both houses the wedding is celebrated. It is not until the guests have well eaten and drunk that the parents of the bride will send a deputation of good friends to the house of the bridegroom to conduct him to his new lodging. Sometimes the case may be reversed, if the young couple are to live in the house of the bridegroom's parents. When begging him or her to betake themselves there, they will offer "white" bread, the Hucul name of which is *Kotacs*.

¹ The invitation runs as follows: "The marriage | of our daughter | Frena Sophia | with Mr. Theodor Rozankowski, judge [*adjunkt sędowcy*] | will be held the 17th inst. at 8^h. evening in the church in Lwow [*Lemberg*]. | Sobieszczyszka Street. 7 September 1903. | Hermina and Wolodimir Smuchiewicz."



HUCUL EASTER DOVE.

To face p. 52.



PROCESS OF COLOURING HUCUL EASTER EGG ILLUSTRATED.

EASTER EGGS.

In the Hucul villages the people assemble before the church on Easter Day at four o'clock in the morning in order that the Easter bread, ham, etc., may be blessed by the priest. After this ceremony, many of them present each other with painted eggs, mutually asking forgiveness from each other. In the afternoon the boys try to take the eggs from the girls. If any girl offers a boy an egg of her own accord, he knows that she wishes him to court her. Birds (doves), represented by means of eggs, are fastened to the ceiling, so as to hang down in the living room of the cottage in remembrance of the birth of Christ (Plate III.).¹ They say that then a dove came down from heaven soaring over the child Jesus. The series of eggs in the illustration (Plate IV.) represent the stages in the technical drawing and colouring of them. On the first egg are only wax lines, which, after the final touches, will be removed, leaving the egg white. Secondly, the egg is put into a yellow colour; those parts of the egg which are to remain yellow being in their turn covered with wax, and so on.² (See also Plate I.)

The yellow colour is made from the dried blossoms of *genista tinctoria*, and must be gathered before the feast

¹The body of the dove is made of a coloured egg-shell, the wings and tail of figured paper, very evenly folded, coloured only on the upper sides; the head and attachment of wings and tail are made of grey wax.

PLATE IV.

Fig. 1. Egg covered with intersecting lines in wax, eventually to show white.

2. Dipped in yellow dye (a).
3. The parts intended to remain yellow covered with wax (b).
4. Coloured green (c), the wax indicated by cross-hatching.
5. The green parts covered with wax (d).
6. Dipped in red dye (e).
7. The wax removed, and the hidden colouring shown (a, c, e), the intersecting lines white.

of St. John (7th July, according to the Greek calendar). The dark green and violet colours are made from the rind of the seeds of *Helianthus annuus* and the berries of *Sambucus nigra* and the bark of the alder-tree. While making these colours and drawing the designs, a great many rules and rites have to be observed, in order that these *pisanki* (from *pisac*, "write," because they are "written" with wax by means of a pencil¹) may be without any witchcraft. As was before noticed, pagan traditions and customs have become closely connected with forms of divine service since the Huculs have been shut off from the world in their mountains; but there is small doubt that since they have been "discovered" many of their original customs and traditions will alter.

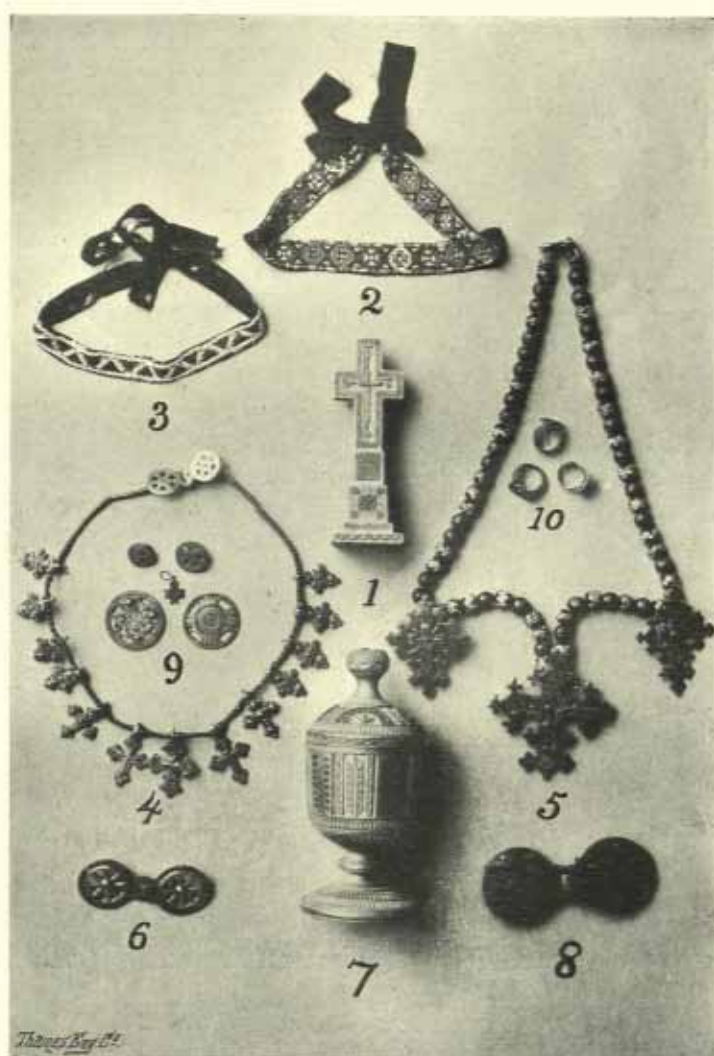
Were it possible to have a German, French or English translation of *Huculszczyszna*, it would doubtless be warmly welcomed by all lovers of folklore.

The objects figured in the plates are from the collection of Professor Szuchiewicz, and were all exhibited by me at the Society's meeting on January 18th.

PLATE V.

1. Specimen of wood carving.
- 2 and 3. Necklaces worn by girls.
- 4 and 5. Necklaces worn by women.
- 6 and 8. Buckles worn at the neck.
7. Carved box inlaid with brass.

¹ The egg-pencil is made of a small piece of stick, four or five inches long, with a tiny brass tube thrust transversely through it at one end. A bit of wire is fitted into the tube, and projecting at one end makes a fine, hard, yet elastic point, with which firm and decided lines can be drawn in wax on the eggs.



ORNAMENTS OF THE HUCULS.

To face p. 54.



IMPLEMENTS OF THE HUCULS.

To face p. 55.

PLATE VI.

1. Heel ornaments(?).
2. Purse made of leather and ornamented with thimbles.
3. Pipe, cleaner, and steel.
4. Man's cross of brass.
5. Powder horn.
6. Powder flask and strap.
7. Man's needle-box, worn in full-dress and attached to the broad belt, in which knives, etc, are placed.
8. Knife and steel in brass sheath.
9. Knife.
10. Riding-whip and stick.
11. Knife, the handle of which is inlaid with beads.

M. L. HODGSON.

COLLECTANEA.

THE PADSTOW HOBBY HORSE, ETC.

[We have to thank Messrs. Williams & Son, Stationers, Market Square, Padstow, for permission to reprint the following notes, published by them as a leaflet in 1903, and also to reproduce the photographs (Plates VII., VIII., IX.), exhibited 17th November, 1904 (see p. 1). The notes should be compared with Miss Courtney's *Cornish Feasts and Feasten Customs*, *F.-L. J.*, Vol. IV., p. 226.—ED.]

PADSTOW MAY SONGS.

THE MORNING SONG.

UNITE and unite, and let us all unite,
For summer is acome unto day,¹
And whither we are going we all will unite,
In the merry morning of May.

I warn you young men every one,
For summer is acome unto day,
To go to the green-wood and fetch your May home,
In the merry morning of May.

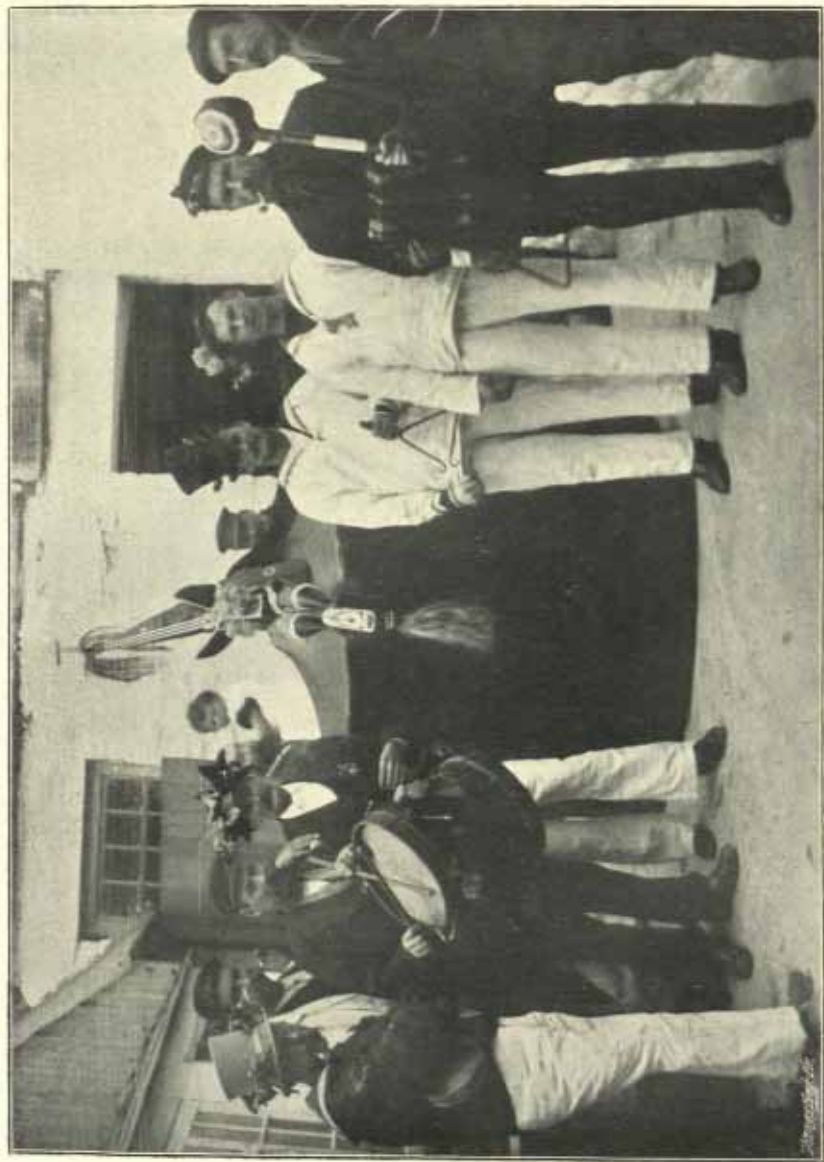
Arise up Mr.—and joy you betide,
For summer is acome unto day,
And bright is your bride that lies by your side,
In the merry morning of May.

Arise up Mrs.—and gold be your ring,
For summer is acome unto day,
And give to us a cup of ale the merrier we shall sing,
In the merry morning of May.

With the merry ring, adieu the merry spring,
For summer is acome unto day,
How happy is the little bird that merrily doth sing,
In the merry morning of May.

(Repeated every four verses.)

[¹ *Sic in orig.* Cf. "Sumer is icumen in."—ED.]



THE PADSTOW HOBBY HORSE, 1903.

To face p. 56.

Arise up Mr.—with your sword by your side,
For summer is acome unto day,
Your steed is in the stable awaiting for to ride,
In the merry morning of May.

Arise up Mr.—and reach me your hand,
For summer is acome unto day,
And you shall have a lively lass with a thousand pounds in hand,
In the merry morning of May.

Arise up Mr.—I know you well afine,
For summer is acome unto day,
You have a shilling in your purse, and I wish it was in mine,
In the merry morning of May.

Arise up Miss—and strew all your flowers,
For summer is acome unto day,
It is but a while ago since we have strewed ours,
In the merry morning of May.

Arise up Miss—all in your gown of green,
For summer is acome unto day,
You are as fine a lady as wait upon the queen,
In the merry morning of May.

Arise up Miss—out of your bed,
For summer is acome unto day,
Your chamber shall be strewed with the white rose and the red,
In the merry morning of May.

Arise up Miss—all in your smock of silk,
For summer is acome unto day,
And all your body under as white as any milk,
In the merry morning of May.

Where are the young men that here now should dance,
For summer is acome unto day,
Some they are in England, and some they are in France,
In the merry morning of May.

Where are the maidens that here now should sing,
For summer is acome unto day,
They are in the meadows the flowers gathering,
In the merry morning of May.

The young men of Padstow might if they would,
For summer is acome unto day,
They might have built a ship and gilded her with gold,
In the merry morning of May.

The maidens of Padstow might if they would,
 For summer is acome unto day,
 They have made a garland with the white rose and the red,
 In the merry morning of May.

Now fare you well, and we bid you all good cheer,
 For summer is acome unto day,
 We call once more unto your house before another year,
 In the merry morning of May.

THE DAY SONG.

AWAKE, St. George, our English Knight O,
 For summer is acome O and winter is ago,
 And every day God give us his grace,
 By day and by night O.

Where is St. George, where is he O
 He is out in his long boat all on the salt sea O,
 And in every land O, the land that ere we go.
 And for to fetch the summer home, the
 summer and the May O,
 For summer is acome O, and winter is ago.

Where are the French dogs that make such boast O,
 They shall eat the grey goose feather,
 And we will eat the roast O,
 And in every land O, the land that ere we go.

Thou might'st have shown thy knavish face,
 Thou might'st have tarried at home O,
 But thou shalt be an old cuckold,
 And thou shalt wear the horns [O].

With Hal-an-tow, and jolly rumble O,
 For summer is acome O, and winter is ago,
 And in every land O, the land that ere we go.

Up flies the kite and down falls the Lark O,
 Aunt Ursula Birdhood she had an old ewe,
 And she died in her own Park O.

And for to fetch the summer home, etc.

(The Choruses to be repeated alternately.)

Now fare you well, and we bid you all good cheer,
 For summer is acome unto day,
 We call no more unto your house before another year,
 In the merry morning of May.

PADSTOW "HOBBY HOSS."

PADSTOW "Hobby Horse," or, as it is always locally termed, "Hobby Hoss," is a time-honoured custom of great antiquity. The history of its origin is buried in oblivion, and at the present time there is nothing but tradition upon which it may be founded. This tradition says that at the time when fierce wars were raged between the English and French (probably about the latter part of the eighteenth century), Padstow was threatened with invasion by a French fleet, and that the "Hobby Hoss" stood guard over the port on Stepper Point with such good effect that the Frenchman fled in terror from what they supposed must be the Evil One. Certainly the reference in the May songs to French dogs eating the goose feathers may lend colour to this tradition.¹ Further, it is a very remarkable coincidence that in the year 1902, when the old oaken "snappers" of the "Hobby Hoss" were being scraped of the accumulated paint of many years, the date 1802 was found deeply carved in the oak, which was itself black with age. But this fact, though interesting, is no conclusive proof of the age of this quaint custom, since it has been necessary from time to time to renew various parts of the dress of the "Hobby Hoss," and 1802 may have been the date of the new "snappers" only.

However, from time immemorial, the custom has been celebrated in Padstow on May 1st of each year.

When shipbuilding was a thriving industry of the port, the shipwrights of Padstow would erect a large pole at the top of Cross Street, in the centre of a cross inlaid with stone, which is a prominent feature of the street. This pole was gaily decorated with spring flowers, etc., and used as a maypole, but through the objections of a former tenant of a house near by, the "Maypole" has long since been abandoned.

On the night preceding May Day, the "Hobby Hoss Pairs" or the party of men who were to accompany the "Hobby Hoss" on the morrow, and lead the merry-making, used to assemble at the "Golden Lion" Inn to a substantial supper. Afterwards,

¹[At Helston, it is "those gallant Spaniards" who are to "eat the grey goose-feather." In any case, the allusion to arrows does not fit the 18th century.—Ed.]

accompanied by many young men of the town, they made a round of the countryside and the town, singing the Morning Song in front of the more important houses. Then followed some hours of rest and preparation, until at 10 a.m. the merry-makers assembled at the "Golden Lion" for the day's rejoicing. The "Hobby Hoss," a formidable-looking creature, with tall cap, flowing plume and tail, savage-looking snappers, and a ferocious mask, sallied forth, accompanied by the "Pairs," carrying each a musical instrument, of which the drum is the most prominent. Before the "Hobby Hoss" danced a man in a terrible dwarf mask, carrying a club. This dancer lead the way everywhere, followed throughout the day by the "Hobby Hoss," and a vast crowd of men and women gaily decorated with flowers and singing the May Songs, while the men fired in all directions pistols loaded with powder. The "Hobby Hoss" proceeded to the Vicarage, and to Treator Pool "to drink," then returned to Padstow and made a tour of the streets, dancing and singing before all the houses visited in the night. Money was freely collected, to be afterwards shared by the "Hobby Hoss" and the "Pairs." The "Hobby Hoss" was always a source of terror to all strangers, even men seeing it for the first time fleeing from it with alacrity; particularly the crews of foreign vessels which happen to be in the quay at Padstow on May Day, will fly terror-stricken into the rigging of the ships.

But, whatever the origin of the custom may have been, the "Hobby Hoss" is quite harmless in itself, and its good graces can always be secured by a contribution to the funds of the merry-makers.

Formerly the "Hobby Hoss" was welcomed and followed by almost the entire population of Padstow, but in latter years the custom has greatly declined. Still the "Hobby Hoss" regularly sallies forth on each May Day, and the contributions to the funds are sufficient to ensure its celebration for some time to come.

Although the custom is absurdly grotesque, its great age should prevent its entire abolition, and it is hoped by all Padstonians, whether at home or in "Foreign parts," that the "Hoss" will continue its annual prance for many years.

THE DEVIL IN GLENCOE, AND OTHER STORIES.

(Ante, p. 1.)

(Communicated through Mr. J. Charrington of The Grange,
Shenley, Herts.)

"DEAR —,

"Why do you want the story of Mr. M'Innes seeing the Devil? Luckily I wrote it down just after his wife told it me, and here it is.

"Weel, one night Himself and two or three of the neighbours were coming down from the Glen, and when they got to the Bridge of Coe all at once there came up over the side of the bridge a great black kin' a' beast, with eyes like yon red peats, and twice as big as a man, and there he stood in the middle o' the bridge, and they were all too scared to walk on past him. But Himself knew it was the Tefle, so he went up to him and said "I baptize ye in the name of Christ," and the Tefle gave a great cry which woke up all the people in the houses, and then he chumped over the other side of the bridge and down into the water, and there were a lot of ducks sleeping down there, and he must have chumped in all among them and given them a fright too, for they flew about and screamed and were chust terrified, and Himself and his friends came home to their beds, and Himself did not rise from his bed for days and days after that."

"Then I asked her how Mr. M'Innes *knew* it was the devil, and she looked at me with as much scorn as she was capable of putting into her gentle old face, and said, 'As if any person could meet the Tefle and *not* know him!' So I asked no more questions after that.

"I could tell you plenty of *superstitions*, such as curing a sick cow by tying her left ear to her left horn and her tail to her left leg with something red and leaving her like that for seven days, but the only other *stories* I know about the supernatural which are tangible enough to write down are chiefly about second sight. Here are two which are quite authentic.

"Once old D. P. M'Donald was driving over Banavie Moss when he saw one of his own men with a cart drawn up at the side of the road as if he were waiting for something. So Mr. M'Donald called out and asked him what he was waiting for, and the man called back, 'I'm waiting to let the funeral by.' Well there was not a funeral anywhere in sight, and old D. P. drove on, thinking the man was drunk, and leaving him waiting there. That night the man was drowned in the locks, and his own funeral was the next to come over Banavie Moss.

"The other one is this, and was told me by our lad Duncan as we were driving into Spean one day. We were passing the 'resting cairn' that was put up about seven years ago for old Campbell of Lowbridge, and Duncan said that one night just before it was put up he and Wallace (the Glenfintaig keeper) were walking home from Fort-Augustus, and they were so tired with the long tramp that they sat down to rest on the place where the cairn now is, and as they were sitting there they heard the voices of Duncan's father and Donald Campbell (Lowbridge's son) down by the burn below, and they could hear them throwing the stones about and talking quite plainly. So Duncan called out to his father, and getting no answer he got up and went down the bank to the burn, and when he got there he could still hear the talking and the stones being moved about, but there was no one there. Then he felt frightened and ran back to Wallace, who also had felt scared and had run off along the road, so Duncan took to his heels and never stopped till he got home, where he found his father in bed and asleep, and no doubt Donald Campbell was similarly employed. Well, the next day old Campbell died quite suddenly and on the day he was buried he was 'rested' by that burn and Duncan's father and Donald Campbell were the two to go down to the burn and throw up the stones for the others to put up the cairn with.

DORA BAILEY."

Inverglo, 11th November, 1904.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES FROM MONMOUTHSHIRE.¹

MRS. PRYCE says there was a little old fairy woman who used to go with a basket and buy things at Monmouth market. No one could make out where she came from or where she went to, though they watched her closely. She had white hair, done in an old-fashioned way, and white eyes.

Two men were going once past a meadow called (I think) Pontcwm, where there was a big oak-tree, round which was a circle danced bare by the fairies. About twelve o'clock they passed this tree, and sure enough there were the fairies dancing away, so these young men they went and danced too. Presently one of them looked round for his friend, and lo! he had vanished, "clean and clever," so had all the fairies. He went home alone; but he was taken up next day on the charge of having made away with his friend. So that night he went back to the tree, and there was his friend waltzing round and round with a fairy. He said he had had a splendid time, that he was well off, and meant to stop. However he was persuaded to go back for a day and explain himself; but then he returned to the fairies for good and all.

In old days the fairies used often to steal children. Mrs. Pryce says, "They liked the babies of we country folk, as being fine and solid-like, and they used to rear them up with their own." She thinks there was no way of keeping the fairies out except by strong bolts and bars, they would creep in at any hole, and the child, once taken, could not be recovered. She says the fairies "live fine," although underground. Sometimes they steal a sheep, and cut it up and drag it down. She describes them as being about the size of a six-year-old child, with beautiful white skins, dressed in a short white garment, no shoes or stockings, and having *white eyes* and white hair.

I asked her if she thought I could ever see one, but she thought not, there are none about now. Alas!

Mrs. Perrett or Bevan lives at Tregagle; she has very bad

¹ See vol. xv., p. 75 (*Wizardry on the Welsh Border*), for the various persons mentioned in these Notes.

rheumatism, and does not go out much. She repeated to me the same stories as Mrs. Pryce about Jack o' Kent, but is most interesting on the subject of fairies. I think she believes in them; at least she thinks they make fairy rings—it is much the simplest explanation!

There was a tradition at Trelleck, she says, of a fiddler having been lost in a cave; he was heard playing underground for years afterwards. Another story of the same sort, or possibly an explanation of the above, is that some people passing through a certain meadow used to hear lovely music. Several times they heard it, and at last they collected some folk together to investigate it. They traced the music to a certain spot, and there they dug in the ground, disclosing at last an underground cave wherein were two old men, hermit-like, playing, one a violin, the other a harp. They had been there many years, and used to take it in turns to go out at night and fetch food. Very old and decrepit they were, and soon after they were taken from underground they died.

Mrs. Bevan's mother was an Irishwoman, and used to see many strange things. Before her father died she heard the Banshee outside her window—a strange, singing cry. And one night her family had gone out, having arranged to throw up gravel to her window to be let in on their return; she had gone to bed, but presently she heard something outside and put her head under the bed-clothes. When she lifted it up there was an old man in the room, clad in silk stockings, buckled shoes, and a three-cornered hat I (suppose he *had* other garments, but Mrs. Bevan did not mention them). He walked up to the bed and looked at her, then to the window, then back to her—and vanished. The family had to get in by a ladder, and found the ghost-seer in a faint.

When her husband was at Gibraltar Mrs. Bevan's mother came to live in Monmouth, for when trying to get a pass to go out to him she had drawn a blank.

One day she had been up to Mitchel Troy to see some friends, and the man of the house came part way back with her. Now between Mitchel Troy and Monmouth there is a meadow, where it is said they began to build Troy House, but what was built up

by day every night fell down. Here Mrs. Bevan's mother saw a lady in white, whom she pointed out to her companion. He saw nothing. The lady came on, and passed between the two people with a sound of rustling silk, and vanished. She had long, loose, golden hair and a rich white gown. Mrs. Bevan's mother fainted, and had to be carried home.

One of *Mrs. Briton's* children was at an early age afflicted with rupture; she tried a great many cures for him, and none were successful. At last an old charmer advised her to pass him through a maiden ash, and that would cure him. (A maiden ash is one grown from its own seed and never touched with a knife.) At twelve o'clock on Friday night the baby was wrapped up and taken to the field while the clock was striking. The ash stood in the hedge, and had been wedged open the night before at the same time. Mrs. Briton stood one side of the hedge and the charmer the other, and they passed the baby nine times backwards and forwards through the tree. All this time not a word was spoken, the ash was bound up and the baby taken home, and as the tree healed so did the child, and is now as well as any other, and to this day the "stoggle" of the ash remains in the hedge.

On Midsummer Eve there is a custom at Cwmcavon to make a little mound of clay shaped like a grave and put in it pieces of valerian ("midsummer men" they call it about there), naming one for each member of the household. In the morning some are found lying right down—these are those destined to die within the year, those drooping will be ill during the year, and so on.

To prophesy the course of true love two "midsummer men" should be taken and named, say one for Tom and one for Jane. These should be stuck in clay and put over the lintel of the door. In the morning you will be able to tell how things stand. If Jane leans to Tom and Tom stands straight or leans away, Jane loves him in vain, and *vice versa*. If both stand straight they do not care for each other, and if they bend over and touch they will marry within the year(?).

At a wedding in Penallt, when the bride and bridegroom are coming back from church the way is roped, and on the rope

are tied four bouquets. The men who keep the rope stop the bridal party and demand toll from the bridegroom. When this is given they present the bouquets to the bride and bridegroom, best man and bridesmaid, and allow them to pass.

When they arrive at the house, before taking her hat off, the bride is led by her husband to the breakfast table, where (with his sword if he has one, or, if not, with the best knife in the house) she makes one cut in the cake, he then takes the knife and makes a cut the other way, thus finishing the slice. The bride should always borrow something, a veil or lace, etc., to be married in.

Burial Customs.—To keep a corpse from swelling a saucer of salt or a turf should be put on the breast and a pan of water underneath. Rue, hyssop, and wormwood should be put in the coffin. Before starting for the burial-ground there should be singing in the house. The corpse should be carried out at the front door feet first, and should then be turned with its face to the east. In Ross funeral cakes made like hot cross buns are baked, and a dole is given to the bearers, consisting of a coin, which may be a penny, sixpence, shilling, or upwards, one for each man. (Mrs. Briton says a relative of hers gave eight half-crowns.) These coins are always given in a pair of kid gloves.

A curious incident took place once at Penallt. A woman and her daughter had been turned out of their house, which had made them furious. Soon afterwards the older woman died, and while her corpse was being carried to church the daughter suddenly drew a slipper from under her apron and struck with it three times at the coffin, exclaiming as she did so, "Mother, I'm here, fulfilling your commands!" and with that she threw the slipper into an orchard close by belonging to those people who had turned them out. And for long after that the farm never prospered and no one could stay there, though by this time the curse appears to have been removed, as the present inhabitants are doing well.

Some time ago a terrible quarrel took place about some stolen fowls. The story is too complicated to follow, but it ended in one of the disputants, Mrs. Adams, being sent to Usk goal.

Her husband then went to Jenkins,¹ who told him that Mrs. Jones, the other party, *had* stolen his fowls, and he went on to say that she would soon be coming to tell him to fetch them back; "But," he said, "don't you fetch them back, you let 'er bring them, and if she don't she'll never rest, I tell you, as long as she do live."

Sure enough, when Adams got back he heard that Mrs. Jones had been asking for him, and presently she appeared again. "Tom," says she, "if them fowls be your'n, do you come and fetch 'em."

"No," says Adams, "you took them, and you can bring 'em back." But she didn't, and, so Mrs. Briton says, she has never rested from that day to this, but is continually on the fidget—if you give her a drop of tea or anything she can't drink it for shaking; she and her family always have bad luck. And in revenge Mrs. Adams has sworn that when Mrs. Jones dies and is carried to be buried she will walk before and "feather the way."

Mrs. Briton has promised to send me a book full of rhymes collected a long time ago. The only ones she has told me, though, are the following:

"Bathe your eyes on Bartimy day,²
You may throw your spectacles away."

"Where the mistress is the master
The parsley grows the faster."

The following are sayings about the places round:

"Chepstow born and Chepstow bred,
Strong in the arm and weak in the head."

"I've been to Coleford—got both eyes open!"³

BEATRIX A. WHERRY.

¹ See vol. xv., p. 76.

² [Bartlemy Day=St. Bartholomew's Day. Possibly there is here some confusion with "blind Bartimæus, the son of Timæus."—ED.]

³ [I.e. across the Wye. Compare the Bishop's Castle saying (Shropshire), "You've got to go over Clun Bridge to get sharpened."—ED.]

FOLK-LORE OF THE NEGROES OF JAMAICA.

(Continued from Vol. XV., pp. 87, 206, 450. See Prefatory Note, p. 87.)

VII.

SIGNS, OMENS, MYTHS, AND SUPERSTITIONS OF JAMAICA.

Those relating to the Human Body. 1. Infancy.

If a child be born with a caul it will be able to see duppies.

Do not cut the nails of infants with a pair of scissors: it makes them light-handed, *i.e.* thieves.

Do not say that an infant is pretty: it makes him grow ugly. Should you say he is ugly he will grow handsome.

When an infant smiles in its sleep it is dreaming of the death of its mother, but when he cries he is dreaming of the death of its father.

Children, before they are able to talk, understand the language of animals.

2. *Manhood.*

White dots on the nails signify luck.

Grey hairs on the head of a young person signify luck.

Do not turn your hat down on a table: it gives you bad luck and prevents you from marrying early.

Do not carry peppers in your pockets: it makes you poor.

If you are going out shooting or fishing and anyone should ask you to bring "one" for him he spoils your luck.

If you dream that you have failed in an undertaking you are going to succeed, and vice-versa.

If your right eye dances you are going to laugh, but if your left eye dances you will hear of some bad news, or something will happen to you that will make you cry.

If your right ear rings you are going to hear something good or some friend is calling your name, but if your left ear rings someone is calling your name who is your enemy.

When the middle of your hand scratches you, you are going to receive money.

When you feel a hitching [*sic*] sensation on the soles of your feet you are going to travel.

Do not comb your hair at night: it makes you forgetful.

Do not sweep your house in the night: you will sweep out your luck.

Do not hold a piece of cane whilst another person is cutting it: it makes you lose friendship.

Do not give a straight pin to your lover: it breaks your love.

Do not make a present to your lover of a pair of scissors or a pocket-handkerchief: it spoils your friendship, or rather "love."

When you are eating and a bit of food drops from you it signifies that your lover is hungry.

Never step over dirty water: it makes you sick.

Those relating to Animals.

If a bird flies into the house it signifies death in the family.

Fireflies in the house at night signifies that you will have a visitor.

Fireflies under a bed signifies death in the house.

When two fowls put their beaks together as if in conversation it signifies that you are going to have two visitors. If it be two hens you will have two women, if it be a cock and a hen you will have a man and a woman.

When fowls cackle on going to roost and on coming off, and even whilst they are on the roost, someone in the district is going to die.

Cows lowing mournfully and dogs howling at night signifies death in the district.

If you hold the eggs of Gie-me-me-bit you will become unlucky.

If you want to catch a scorpion that you see say the Lord's Prayer and he will stop.

If people speak too much of your horse, mule, etc., they will pine away.

Ground doves that inhabit a particular spot are duppies.

Miscellaneous.

When washing dead people do not wet their backs, for should you do so they will follow you, saying they are cold.

It is believed that the ghost of a person rises on the third night after burial and returns to the house, which he finally leaves on the ninth night. This absurd belief causes people to keep what is known as "wakes" or "nine nights."

When a man dies who is not good enough to go to heaven, and not bad enough for hell, he returns to the earth and becomes a "rolling calf."

If duppies trouble you in your house put a horse shoe over the doorway and this will keep them away.

If you want to prevent any ghost whatever from coming into your house cross ten (X) on the doors.

Duppies cannot count over nine.

Do not throw water outside in the nights, for you may wet ghosts, and consequently catch harm.

Do not whistle in the nights, for duppies will catch your voice.

Do not knock a green lizard that lives in a grave-yard, for he is a duppy and will hurt you.

Do not let your house remain at nights without water, for the ghosts of those who have died in it will come back to drink water, and will show you some token of their displeasure should they find none.

If a duppy should be following you, to stop him you must cross ten (X) across the road, and stick up a pin or a pen-knife in it. In the morning, should you go back and observe the spot, you will find an ant or some small insect dead beside it.

If you happen to be in a bush, and should hear a stick break, arise and go away at once, for it is a warning from some one of your dead relatives that the place is not good to stay in, and that some harm will attend you if you remain.

If you should draw out a hair of your head and wish for anything at "New Moon," before you speak to any one, you will obtain your wish.

Do not flog duppies with your right hand, for they will hurt you, but flog them with your left hand.

Duppies do not follow carpenters and tailors, because they walk with rules in their pockets.

If in the early morning you happen to come across a warm stratum of air it is believed that a ghost was sleeping on that spot during the night.

G.

VIII.

When a firefly flies into your house at nights, a stranger will surely give you a visit.

When a crow or crows fly late in the evening some one is expected to depart this life.

When fowls cackle in the night or are startled from their roost some one would die.

When cows bellow speedy death is expected.

If rats destroy your clothes by gnawing, some one is expected to die.

If two hens put their beaks together some one is sure to visit you, if a cock and hen, the visit of a man and woman.

The dirt should not be swept out of a house in which there is a dead person or some one would surely follow.

To turn down your hat when you enter a house is an omen which foreshadows no marriage.

To open an umbrella over you in a house foreshadows the same result.

To come in a warm current of air when travelling in the night signifies that evil spirits are about the surroundings.

Openings between the front teeth signifies a giddy brazen disposition.

If the palm of your hands itches, you shall receive money.

If your eyes dance you would either laugh or cry.

If you handle birds' eggs or kill a spider you will always be breaking crockeries.

If a branch of a tree should give way some one would die.

Should the bottom of a tumbler fall off some one would die.

You should not answer to your name, if any calls it after you are gone to bed, or they will catch your shadow.

H.

IX.

Love and Courtships.

Whenever there is leap year, women write letters of engagement.

When a lady's skirt or stockings drop, her lover is thinking of her.

If one is peeling an orange, and at the same time repeating the letters of the alphabet, and if the peel break, the letter on which it breaks will be that with which the name of the one's lover will be commenced.

Get an egg, bore a hole at each end, allow another person to suck out its contents. Fill the shell with salt, chew and swallow the shell and its present contents before going to bed, you will then dream of a person coming to give you water, and that person will be your lover.

Fill a glass vessel with water and write each letter of the alphabet on a separate bit of paper. Throw the bits on the surface of the water in the vessel. The letters that appear on the surface of the water will be the initial letters of the one's lover. (The one who experiments.)

Marriages.

If an umbrella be opened in a house over a person, that person will never be married.

The falling of one's seat signifies that he or she will never be married.

Persons who meet a corpse in chapel when going to be married, never enjoy a happy life.

If the corpse be met when the couple is returning from chapel, the life of the two parties will be agreeable and happy.

The shining of the sun on a wedding day signifies the living of a happy life between the married couple.

The falling of rain on a similar day is a sign of an unpleasant union.

When a married couple is going home for the first time after the ceremony has been performed, the one that first enters the threshold of the house and goes in before the other, will rule the other.

If a lady's veil get torn on putting it on to attend her marriage ceremony she will lead a wretched life.

During a marriage ceremony should the bridegroom push the ring too far down on the bride's finger, they will live together miserably.

Births.

To be born on a Friday indicates bad luck.

Deaths and Funerals.

The flying of a bat in a house is a sign that either a relative or a friend of the inmates is about to die.

The falling of and the sticking up of a pair of scissors in the floor signifies death.

The cry of an owl over a dwelling-house signifies death.

The flying together of six crows and one hawk signifies death.

The sudden crash of the limb of a tree signifies death.

The cries of dogs and cats when one is very ill signifies death.

A slight drizzle when any one is seriously ill signifies death.

The constant digging of a hole by a dog signifies death.

If persons afflicted with sores look on the face of a dead [body] or go to the grave, the sores will become worse.

Should anyone put his head between his legs and stand at a far distance (say half a mile) away from a hearse going on with a corpse, he will discern whether the dead be a male or a female. If he stand too near under similar conditions, his neck will be broken.

Put water on a dead man's back and he will open his eyes.

A dead person frowns when attended to by one whom he dislikes. On the other hand he puts on a pleasing countenance when one whom he loves enters the house.

If you don't bid your dead farewell his spirit will return in the same familiar style as when he was alive.

After one is dead his spirit returns every night for nine nights, and on the last night he visits all his relatives and associates, overlooks all that are his, and then departs altogether.

Ghosts.

If a spider's web get across one's face, he is being accompanied by a ghost.

A ghost seen in black has no intention to harm anyone, but a ghost seen in white is dangerous.

Cursing at the sight of a good spirit drives it away.

The calling of God's name at the sight of an Evil spirit drives it away also.

To prevent you seeing the ghost of a dead person, plant red peas on his grave.

To enable you to see ghosts readily, take the matter from a dog's eyes and put in yours.

Sand stops the visit by ghosts.

The nailing of a horse's shoe on a gate or door, hinders ghosts from entering in.

To drive away a ghost, flog him with a whip held in the left hand.

If dogs howl in a yard, ghosts are in it.

Visits.

Two fowls appearing to be talking foretells of a strange visit.

The crowing of a cock before the proper time foretells of a strange visit.

The dropping and sticking up of a pin foretells of a strange visit.

The sight of a spider on the wall of a house when it is being attended to in the morning, signifies that there will be a visitor in the evening.

The Weather.

When toads croak there will be bad weather.

The flying of many crows to and fro in the air signifies that there will be rain soon.

When many swallows fly together in the air it will soon rain.

The dancing of the right eye signifies laughing by the one.

The dancing of the left eye signifies weeping by the one.

If the palm of one's right hand scratches him he will soon get money.

If the palm of his left hand scratches him he will soon pay money.

If a person's knee scratches him he is going to change his bed.

The itching of the nose shows that the individual is going to kiss a fool.

When the sole of your feet itches you are about to travel.

The butting of the right foot is a sign of good luck.

Butting the left foot signifies bad luck.¹

If your ears ring someone is calling your name.

When your lips tremble you will be in confusion soon.

The number of marks in the palm of one's hand are the number of trials which he will endure.

When your elbow scratches you another will soon shake your hands.

When a thrill passes through a person's body an insect is crossing the place where he will be buried.

A sudden and startling movement of your heart signifies that you are being spoken of.

White spots on the fingers are signs of riches.

Persons with large ears are always rich.

When your left eye tingles you are being traitored.

¹[This is the contrary of the superstition among the Fjort. Dr. Nassan quotes Mr. R. E. Dennett as follows: "See that your men start with their left foot first, and that they are 'high-steppers;' for if their left foot meet with an obstacle, and is badly hurt, it is not a bad sign; but if their right foot knock against anything you must go back to town."—*Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 195.—E. S. HARTLAND.]

When your lips scratches you you are going to get a kiss.

When young persons have grey hairs they always have good luck.

Raiments.

When the end of a lady's dress is turned over, if she ask a male to put it down, and if he oblige her, she will get a new one.

If you take off the skin of an orange without breaking the peel you will get a new suit of clothes.

If the end of a man's jacket is turned over he is about to get a new one.

Miscellaneous.

If one's spittal [*sic*] fall on himself someone is saying something untrue of him.

Going out but returning before reaching the place for which you started is a sign of bad luck.

If you mend your clothes on yourself people will trample over you and will tell lies on you.

When a person cries on being confirmed he will not remain long in church.

The breaking of a looking-glass is a sign that you will have seven years of trouble.

If you kill a spider you will always break crockeries.

If you hold a give-me-my-bit's egg you will break every other egg.

If you see a scorpion repeat the Lord's prayer and it will remain still.

If in tidying a house you sling round a chair there will soon be a confusion, in which you will be engaged.

Dreams.

The dreaming of new boots signifies [a] new intended.

The dreaming of fire signifies confusion.

The dreaming of a tooth signifies death.

The dreaming of a new house signifies death.
 The dreaming of a wedding signifies a funeral.
 To dream of a new born means death.
 To dream of a fish means a new born soon.

Miscellaneous (continued).

The mournful lowing of cows indicates death.
 Wicked people are generally born again in the shape of
 savage beasts.
 A man who neither goes to heaven nor hell becomes a rolling
 calf after death.
 If you are handing a lady a knife bend a pin meanwhile or
 your love will be lost.
 To check vomiting put a bit of stick behind each ear.

I.

(Concluded.)

ADDITIONS TO "THE GAMES OF ARGYLESHIRE."

[SINCE the publication of *The Games of Argyleshire* as the Society's occasional volume for 1900, Dr. Maclagan has received, as he always foresaw would be the case, much additional information on the subject, which he has forwarded to the Society for publication in *Folk-Lore*. His offer, it is needless to say, has been gratefully accepted by the Council, and the additional matter will appear in our volume for 1905. Dr. Maclagan has arranged it under the "Class" headings used in the *Games of Argyleshire*, with a reference before each item to the page and line of the work where it should have come in if it had been included in the original volume. ED.]

ACTIVITY, GENERAL.

(On p. 1, after line 9.)

A modification of this [Hop, Step, and Jump] was called—

Three Stones.

Three small stones were taken in the hand of the first player

who toed a line, his heels together. Bending down he stretched his arm as far as he could without moving his feet at all and placed one of the stones on the ground. Rising to his full height, his feet still steady, he jumped as far as he could in the line of the stone placed and placed the second stone, the same being repeated and the third stone placed. Separating the feet, wobbling so as to move from the spot jumped on put the competitor out. The one who could reach furthest with three leaps was successful. The ground must not be touched by the other hand from that which places the stones. It is usual not to place the stones at the uttermost stretch on a first trial.

(P. 2, after line 12.)

Leum a Bhradain. (The Salmon's Leap.)

The performer lay flat down, his feet together, his hands close to his side, on the ground. Drawing up the feet and with a powerful jerk of the whole body, the upright position had to be gained without staggering or stumbling, with no assistance from the hands. A successful performance was a veritable salmon's leap.

Leum Maighiche. (Hare's Leap.)

Several take part in this. One lies down on the ground on his back; another jumps over him and lies down where he has landed parallel to the one already down. Another leaps over both and likewise lies down till all are down, or the distance that can be leapt is covered. The first to go down then rises and leaps over the party, followed in rapid succession by the remainder, the fun largely consisting in the rapidity in which they follow each other. If one is slow in clearing the way for his successor, he is said to be "run down," and must retire from the game.

This was also played in Orkney.

Cuddies and Weights.

The players are divided into two parties, and, with the assistance of a counting-out rhyme, the one half become "cuddies," the other the "weights." The "cuddies" on all fours are ridden by the "weights," and their business is to prance and fling and in every way to do their best to rid themselves of their riders, shout-

ing the while "weights, weights." A tumbled "weight" becomes in turn a "cuddy," and the performance is repeated.

Port the Helm.

The description comes from Cowal. The players form a chain by joining hands. The one at the end of the chain, the leader for the time being, continues crying "Port the helm," wriggling and jerking the others about as much as he can, trying to get them into a condition of unstable equilibrium. When he thinks he has achieved this, he lets go the hand of the boy next him with the intention that all should fall "in a heap" like the murdered wives of the King of the Cannibal Islands.

Supple joints and a long arm are necessary for the following feat. It is generally considered a girls' trick.

Passing her right hand round the front of her neck, she stretches round the back till she can catch her right ear with her right hand. Conversely, it may be done with the left hand and the left ear.

ARTICULATION.

(P. 4, after line 22.)

10. "Brod na poite bige air ceann na poite mhor ; Brod na poite mhor air ceann na poite bige."

(Lid (board) of the little pot on the top of the large pot ; lid of the large pot on the top of the little pot.)

11. "Cu dubh, stumpach dubh, gun earbull."

(Black dog, stumpy black, without a tail.)

12. "The cobbler came to cut pumps, new fashioned country cut, cut pumps cobbler."

AUGURIES.

(P. 7, after line 7.)

Falach a Chlobha. (Hiding the Tongs.)

This is an indoor amusement. All retire but one who remains to hide the tongs within the limits of the apartment. On the signal given the remainder return and commence searching for them, the one who finds them being the first to be married. There is a cryptic allusion in this use of the tongs which also

appears in the statement that "for luck" between entertainer and entertained, the tongs should be placed under the pillow of a guest.

The special observances of Hallowe'en have not been included among games, as they seem in fact, though now perhaps regarded as amusements, to be in origin religious rites. The following is given as being practised in Harris independently of any special anniversary:

Two selected stalks of bent-grass are named respectively after a girl and a lad known to those who are present and who are suspected of being favourably affected one towards the other. The stalks are laid side by side in the hot ashes, and regard is had to how they burn. If they burn together and equally, those represented are to be married. If only one burns the person represented desires marriage, the other does not. If neither burn, it is clear there is no love between them.

BALL GAMES.

(P. 7, at the bottom.)

A nearly similar game is called

Cluich an Rìgh. (The King's Play.)

If there are twelve players eleven points are marked, say with a stone, and a player stands at each. They are disposed in a circle and the twelfth, provided with a ball, stands in the centre. He gives a signal, and the others have to change their stations while he tries to strike one with the ball. If he is successful, the one struck and the thrower change places. If by any chance one of the runners does not move at the signal, he must take the centre, even if not struck with the ball; two players cannot occupy the same station at the same time.

(P. 9, after line 24.)

A game started in the same way as "Bonnety" is

Purley Houses.

He into whose bonnet the ball has been thrown having struck another player, the one struck puts a small stone in his own

bonnet, if the thrower has missed, the stone goes into his bonnet. The same thrower continues throughout the game. When any one of the players has in his bonnet the number of stones fixed upon before commencing, say six, the last stage of the game is reached. The number of stones in each bonnet is counted, and for every stone the player receives a "purley"; he places his bonnet against the wall and, laying his hand flat open against the bonnet, those who had no stones in their caps are entitled, from a given distance, to strike his hand with the ball as many times as stones were counted to him. The one to receive the greatest number suffers first, and so on in succession till all have stood their punishment, which is virtually the same as in the girls' game of "Cobs."

There is a modification of "Cobs" called

Jinkers.

In this, the player summoned by the name of the day tries to strike the one who has thrown the ball against the wall, and if struck he again throws against the wall, naming another player, always adding the word "Jinkers," Thursday Jinkers,—Friday Jinkers, etc. If the thrower misses he bounces the ball off the gable, naming a player to catch it. When any player has been hit three times, he stands out. The most successful is he who remains longest in. This game is played in Ross-shire by girls under the name of "Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday." If the girl named catches the ball, she hands it back to be bounced off the wall by the original thrower, but if the named one does not catch it, she picks it up and tries to strike some other, who then takes the ball. If she has missed, she makes it rebound from the wall and calls for another day of the week.

Piggie Wiggie

Is a girls' game closely allied to the above. The players stand in a circle, one with the ball in the centre. She stots the ball on the ground and names one in the circle to catch it. If the named one catches it, the thrower stands aside during that game and the one with the ball takes her place becoming "Piggie Wiggie." If

the one called fails to catch the ball, she commences running round the circle while the remainder call out "Piggie Wiggie," and the original stotter tries to strike the runner with the ball before she has run round the complete circle, inside. Struck or not struck she takes her old place in the circle, but each hit counts one till a number fixed is reached which puts the player out of the game. The most successful is the one who remains longest in.

Exercise Ball. Glasgow Ball.

It is played with an india-rubber ball, and consists in a certain number of feats, each more difficult than its predecessor.

1. The player stots the ball off the ground six times, catching it each time.
2. She throws the ball up, claps her hands once and then catches the ball, repeating throwing up the ball and increasing the number of claps between each throw till six are reached.
3. The same as No. 2, but the hands are clapped behind the back.
4. As 2, but she slaps her knees with her hands.
5. As 2, but she claps her sides each time.
6. As 2, but both hands are placed on the player's mouth.
7. As 2, but both hands are placed on the top of the player's head.

This completes the performance. If the ball fall to the ground the player commences where she left off when her turn comes again. First out wins the game.

Through the Mill.

Also a girls' game, but sometimes played by both sexes. Sides are chosen, and they toss for who is to have the ball. Each side is divided into two equal parts, those having won the toss standing in two parallel lines facing each other, those who have lost disposing themselves at the open sides so as to form a hollow square. The game consists in tossing the ball between the players of one of the "sides," the other "side" trying to intercept the ball in its flight and then keep it flying among themselves.

House Ball

Is the name for the ordinary English game of "Rounders," the ball being struck out by hand by each runner in succession of the party to the pitching of one of the party "out." The number of stations depends on the number playing. The striker out must run. No two can occupy the same station, and any one of the party if struck between stations puts that side out, unless one can catch the ball and hit one of those out before they all assemble in the "den."

(P. 10, continuing at line 20.) ("Description of cricket.")

There are, however, traditions of "Kick Ball" as played before the introduction of the rules for "Rugby" and "Association." It was a great game in Cowal; Tom na Bhoid, at Dunoon, being a regular meeting-place. There, a certain Donald White is by tradition said to have kicked the ball over the Parish Church, and with the same kick, sending his pump flying, causing a "bad eye" to another player.

In primitive "Kick Ball" each game seems to have ended by the winning of a goal. The distance between goals depended on the extent of ground at command. The sides are said to have tossed for first kick, the game commencing from the centre of the ground. Two persons were appointed, one from each side, who moved along on either flank as necessary, whose duty was to prevent the ball being sent too far a-field.

If the play-ground did not yield what was considered a sufficiently long course, the game was not a time one, but was won by one side or the other getting an agreed-on number of goals.

Shoot for Goal.

Now played, is evidently a modern invention. A goal is fixed and one appointed goal-keeper, the others spreading themselves out in front. Any convenient ball is used, which is kicked out by the keeper, who has then to prevent the others landing it within the goal. A reckoning of the number of times that any player has kicked it through the goal is kept, and when a certain number is reached it is the privilege of that player to become goal-keeper.

If the goal-keeper fails to stop the ball a certain number of times he must change places with the one who has most shots to his credit.

Nine Holes.

On a flat piece of turf nine holes, three holes in three rows at equal intervals, are made and a *stand* is fixed in front of them. Each hole has a number assigned it from one to nine. The player places himself at the stand and tries to roll a ball into one of the holes; he continues so long as he is successful, his score mounting up with the value attached to each hole. If he fail he is followed by another player, and so on in succession till the number fixed on for "game" is reached by one of the players.

Bullets.

The players were each provided with a round shot of about seven pounds weight. Two usually played against each other. The object was to cover a certain distance of road, as a rule between one and three miles, with the fewest number of throws. It might however be who would reach the greatest distance in a previously determined number of casts. From the starting-point each hurled his ball in the direction of the goal. On reaching the ball the player could with his foot draw a line across the road and might make his next cast from any point on that line. The skill of the player, as distinguished from his strength, was chiefly evident in being able to put twist on his bullet so that it would take a curve in the road and not be brought up at the road side before its travelling power was expended.

This game, which was played but a few years ago, was put a stop to by authority as dangerous to persons and horses on the public roads.

Snowballing

Has no doubt been indulged in from time immemorial. Combats between chosen sides and predetermined leaders, with the smaller boys to supply the fighting lines with ammunition, are organised when the fall of snow is heavy.

BALANCING.

(P. 12, after line 28.)

The description of the above feat, as seen practised in Uist, is as follows :

The performer stands on one foot on a table, his toe flush with the edge. To the toe of the foot on the table he brings the heel of the other foot ; stooping forward he places one of his fists against the toe of the suspended foot and prolongs the line of foot and fist with his other hand, the success of the feat consisting in retaining his balance. The reciter saw masons performing this on the top of a wall. As thus described, the performer had the whole length of one foot as a base.

(P. 13, at bottom.)

Picking a pin up by the mouth.

In Barra a pin is stuck in the ground, and the performer, with his or her two hands clasped behind the back, stoops and picks up the pin with the teeth. This trick was popular in North Argyre in the Ledaig district. "The pin was placed upon a smooth surface, a broad smooth flagstone, a piece of wood. Standing erect the performer placed his hands behind his back and stooped until with his teeth he gripped the pin, having to lift it from the floor without placing his hands on the floor or his feet." He might be allowed to put his hands on his knees, but not lower than that. With the description of the trick as done in Barra before us, the question was put to our correspondent, "Was the pin not stuck by the point?" but the answer was quite clear that it was only laid down horizontally. A man who had done it in his youth said the hands were put behind the back and the legs spread out till the face could reach the pin.

Standing on one foot to touch the ground with the knee of the other leg.

Standing upright on the left foot, the performer raised the right foot backwards, bending the knee and held the toes with his right hand. Retaining his hold he had to bend the left knee

so as to touch the ground with the right and then regain the upright position without letting go of the right foot or staggering.

Seasamh Claidheimh. (Standing of a sword.)

The name in Barra for standing on the head and hands, feet together, extended upwards. The question was, who could stand most firmly and longest with the legs straight?

A swing is called in Lowland Scottish a "swee." Jamieson spells it "sway," "swey." As above mentioned, it is a name also applied to the pot chain which hung over the fire. A children's swing in Gaelic is a *drollag*, and a pair of pot hooks is called *drolla*, also the name for the handle of a pot. In Skye the following words are repeated while swinging a companion:

"Tuille gorachd nunn gu Muideart
Tuille eiridh nunn gu Rasaidh."

See Saw. (See p. 250 of games.)

In Uist they repeat while swinging on a plank, "Diol a bhocadan, ho-ro, chracadan." We give the spelling as we got it, the words probably mean "a plank waving, ho-ro cracking," making a cracking noise.

BAT GAMES.

(P. 17, after line 17.)

Cat and Dog.

In Perthshire "Cat and Dog" are played somewhat differently. Sides being formed, a ring is marked sufficiently large to contain those of the side which are *in*. About twelve yards from the ring a stone is set up, or other mark made called the "den." The side *out* spread themselves at convenient distances in front of the ring. The first player in the ring lays the *cat* on the ground, strikes it with his *dog* on one end so as to make it rise, and when it is in the air strikes it out; he then runs for the "den," which he must touch with his dog and back to the ring; if successful, this counts one for his side. If the cat is caught in the air by one of

his opponents, the sides exchange places, if not, the cat is lifted and thrown into the ring, and if it reaches it before the runner he is out till the game is finished. If the striker out has not only "run the den," but is ready to receive the cat when it is thrown in, he tries to strike it out before it reaches the ground, and if successful he steps the distance to which he has driven the cat and each pace counts one to his side. Another then takes the dog and follows the same system till all are put out. The game is won by the side which first makes the number agreed on before starting.

Pellet

Allied to the above games, is played in Orkney. Equal sides are chosen and a ball and bat are used. The bat is single-handed, the ball is usually made of cow's hair and soap worked together in the palm of the hands till it has become tough and hard; it is then covered with leather.

Suppose four are playing on each side, four holes are made with the heel of the boot or the point of the bat, ten to twelve yards apart. They are called "Hales." Each of the side in stands at a *Hale* with his bat in his hand. One of the side *out* bowls the ball to one of the batmen *in*, the remainder fielding. The batsman strikes the ball out as far as he can, and all start to run a round of the hales, each round counting one. The side *in* try to run between as many of the hales as possible for each stroke, the ball being bowled to the player who finds himself at the first hale bowled to.

The side *in* is put *out* by the batsman missing a bowl, by his stroke being "kepped," that is, caught before the ball touches the ground, by the ball being put into one of the hales when it is not occupied by the bat of a player, or when one of the batmen is struck with the ball by a member of the side out while running between two hales. The game is won by the side first reaching the agreed-on number of rounds of the hales.

Spellinn

Is an Uist form of the same game. The necessary apparatus is a bat (*straicean*), a ball of any available material—wood, a centre of cork wrapped with worsted; a favourite form was made

of horse hair, and the *speil*, a lath of wood ten to twelve inches long and about two inches broad. A hole is then made in the ground sufficiently large to admit the ball and the point of the *speil* (*an toll*), and forming a semicircle behind it with a radius of about twenty yards are five *calaídh* or *calaichean* (ports, harbours). Sides being chosen, one of them takes possession of the hole, the other side fields out. One of the side in lays the *speil* with its one point in the hole and places the ball on it. With his *straicean* he hits the projecting end of the lath, jerking the ball into the air, which he tries to strike out. If he fails to do this three times, he stands aside till the game is finished. If he hits the ball, one of his party runs to the first of the five *calaichean*, and runs as many of them as he thinks he can with safety. If the ball is caught after being hit, the whole side is put out, or if the side out can get what is called *picean*, i.e. tossing the ball into the hole when returning it to the striker out. If one of the runners is struck with the ball between two *calaichean*, the individual is out till the end of the game. If none of these three misfortunes for the side in have happened, the batsman measures the number of *straicean* lengths between the hole and the place where the ball rested, and that number is scored to the party in. Another of the in party then takes the bat and the first striker out may start on the round. If two men are caught at one port, one is put out. During the course of a game, either side may be in several times. The match is won by the side which first makes the aggregate of *straicean* lengths fixed on.

(P. 19, after line 23.)

The age of these games is well attested. In the Cattle Spoil of Coolly (Grimm Library, xvi. 23) Cuchulainn is playing a ball game against three fifties of other boys. "When it was hole-driving that they did he filled the hole with his balls, and they could not ward him off. When they were all throwing into the hole he warded them off alone, so that not a single ball would go in it."

Single Pellet.

As played in Orkney is somewhat like the immediately preceding. A ball, a bat, and a tongue are required, the last being

the equivalent of the *speil* in Speilinn, but the tongue is said to be about half the size. Sides being chosen, and the party to be *in* fixed, the game commences by one of them striking the ball out. If he miss it he is out for the rest of the innings; the same happens if he is caught. Supposing the ball to have been struck and have a free course, one of the outs returns it as near to the hole as possible, and the distance from the centre of the hole to the centre of the ball where it then lies is measured by the bat, and the total added to the score of the party in, fractions of length are not counted. To save time in measuring the striker out may say "I'll take six," or any number he judges represents the distance. If this is deemed correct, the offer is accepted and forms the number scored, but any of the outs may challenge the correctness of the distance judged, and measurement with the bat is made. If the number of bat lengths turns out to be less than that mentioned, the striker is put out and the shot counts nothing to his side. If, on the other hand, the length is greater than he mentioned, his side has the advantage of the increase. The bat is taken in turn by each one of a side till all have been put out, the other side then goes in, and those who have scored most win the game.

(P. 24, after line 8.)

In Cowal the posts are called "dulls," and the hole in the den from which the ball is struck is the "moosh."

(P. 35, after line 6.)

A Barra variant of the dialogue on p. 32 commencing "Tulla (thulla) gus an iomain" is quite the same as far as "De an iteag?" after which comes

Itaeg bronnaich	Wing (feather) of belly-band.
De am bronnach?	What belly-band?
Bronnach eich	Belly-band of horse.
De 'n t-each?	What horse?

Each buidhe blar, suas cnoc an teine. Thuit a' chailleach bharr a mhuin. Thubhairt a Bhanrigh "Thut." (A yellow horse with a white mark on its face, up the hill of fire. The old woman fell off its back. The Queen said "hoot.")

(P. 39, after line 8.)

In Sutherland and Caithness-shire and the Orkney Islands a name given to Shinty is "Knotty." Gateways are often chosen between which the ball must be driven, thus constituting the goals. Where gateways are non-existent, as was largely the case in these northern districts, the thing to be achieved was to drive the ball a certain distance from the central point at which it was thrown down between the contending parties. The imaginary lines to be reached were called in Orkney the Hales.

An interesting parallel to the method in which who was to drive off is fixed, described on p. 39, is to be found among the Cossacks. In a note by the Editor in a folk-tale in the *Kruptadia*, after the words "Come let us draw lots," we are informed, "To draw lots the lads in the Ukraine proceed after the following manner: one takes the stick about the centre, the one who follows him puts his hand above it, after him the other, and so on consecutively; he who will have a hand on the top and can yet hold the end of the stick without letting it fall, wins." (*Kruptadia*, vol. viii., p. 361.)

BLINDFOLD GAMES.

(P. 41, after line 5.)

Blindman's Buff receives the name of "Glim Glam" in Banffshire.

(P. 41, after line 4 from bottom of page).

In Harris the Bodach Dall has not to strike another player. A stick is fastened in the ground representing the Bodach he is bent upon killing. It is this stick which he must strike. The endeavour of the other players during the conversation given, and while he is moving about, is by talking and jostling him to make him lose all idea of where the object of his attack has been placed.

(P. 44, after line 15.)

Wheeling the Barrow.

Two stakes were stuck in the ground from sixty to one hundred yards apart. The competitors were blindfolded and each

provided with a barrow. If there was only one barrow, each took it in turn, but more than one might start at the same time. The object was, starting from one end of the ground to run the wheel-barrow up against the post at the other. Obstacles might be laid down between the stakes to increase the difficulty. In Cowal this was a common competition on New-Year's Day.

Other indoor games blindfolded were—

Cleas a' Bhuilgein (*buille*, 'a stroke,' *builgean*, 'a tap, a little stroke'.)

The chosen one of the party playing knelt down with both hands extended behind the back touching each other, palms upwards. The other players struck with the open palm the hands of the blindfolded one, one player at a time, after each stroke the kneeler being expected to say who gave the blow. If the guess were correct, the striker and the kneeler changed places and only after a correct guess was the kneeler relieved. This was played in Barra.

Soldiers.

A pencil and paper or slate are necessary. Two parallel columns of figures are written down, say Os and Xs, at a slight distance apart, three-eighths of an inch perhaps, one below the other, a dot being marked over the topmost figure of each column. The length of the column would depend on the size of the paper or slate. Each figure was a 'soldier.' The first to play being arranged for, he was blindfolded and the point of his pencil put on the dot above one of the columns. He then drew his pencil down trying to run it through as many 'soldiers' as possible. The other player then had his chance, and they played alternately for the number of strokes fixed on before commencing, it might be three or four. The one whose pencil passed through most soldiers was the winner.

There is a very similar game in which rapidity of motion and not want of sight is employed to make the scoring uncertain. There are two columns of figures for each player, and a captain is marked in front of the centre of each column.

O		The single figures represent the centre		X
	O	of each party	X	
O				X
	O		X	
O				X
	O		X	
O				X
	O		X	
O				X
	O		X	
O				X
	O		X	
O		O	X	
	O			X
O			X	
etc.	etc.		etc.	etc.

The players sit opposite each other. The first to play lays his pencil on one of his own "soldiers" and with a quick stroke, representing an arrow shot, runs it through the ranks of the enemy, trying to strike as many as he can. Otherwise the game is exactly as above, the captain however counting two.

ARCHERY.

(P. 45, after line 31.)

In the MS. poems collected by the Rev. James MacLagan, the following verse occurs in an ode in memory of Donald Gorm of Glengarry, composed by his widow. (*Transactions Gaelic Society of Inverness*, xxii. 170):

"O's maith thig dhuit bogha
 Cruaidh foghainteach laidr,
 Agus teafaid chaol scorrach
 Bheireadh ceannuich a Flendras;
 Mar re glac a chinn leathainn,
 'N deis a fadhairt o'n chearduich;
 Sud air geal-ghlac mo chridhe
 Dheanadh Siothann mar p' ail leam."

(O well became you, a bow/Firm sufficient strong,/And slender cutting (twanging?) bow-string/That a merchant would bring from Flanders ;/ Like (the) moon (the) hollow of its broad head,/After its tempering in the shop ;/That, on (the) white palm of my heart (love)/Would provide venison as I would like.)

Having some acquaintance with archery, the translation is given with confidence, though *tempering* is more applicable to a blade than the adjusting of the "cast" of a bow. Donald Gorm fell at the battle of Killiecrankie, 1689, and the interesting point here, of which there can be no doubt, is that he imported his bow from Flanders. About the middle of last century, when the writer first made acquaintance with bows and arrows at Archers' Hall, Edinburgh, some of the members of the Royal Company still used shooting graith imported from Flanders. It is interesting to note that all the historic references here given of the practice of archery fall within the seventeenth century. In Waldron's *Description of the Isle of Man*, first published in 1726, he mentions that the young men of the island were "great shooters with bows and arrows. There are frequently shooting matches, parish against parish, and wagers laid which side shall have the better." (Manx Society's publications, xi. p. 50.) This refers us to the active practice of archery in a Gaelic-speaking locality during the same 17th century.

CHOOSING PARTNERS.

(P. 56, after line 15.)

There is an Ardrishaig variant of "Mary Matansy." The girl in the centre of the ring pretends to be weeping and the ring circling round sings—

"Oh, what is Mary weeping for, weeping for, weeping for,
Oh, what is Mary weeping for, upon Ardrishaig pier?"

Mary answers—

"She is weeping for her own true love, her own true love, her own true love,
She's weeping for her own true love, who has gone to the war."

The ring—

"Oh when will he come back again, back again, back again,
Oh when will he come back again to his own dear Mary?"

Mary steps forward, the ring stops and she chooses one to represent her lover; joining hands the two whirl about singing—

“He has come back again, back again, back again,
He has come back again to his own dear Mary.”

Mary joins the ring and the chosen lover becomes “Mary.”

Jingo Ring.

They have a variant from that described above in Lorn. The players stand in a row with one walking up and down in front, singing,—

“As I went walking down the street
A German lady I did meet
With a pair of slippers on her feet
And a baby in her arms.”

She then chooses one from the row and, arm in arm, they march up and down in front of it, singing,—

“Jingo-ring fal lal la, (repeated three times)
And a baby in her arms.”

The first then joins the row and the other carries on the game.

The same game is played with a variant of the verse given on p. 85, each one chosen merely taking the chooser's place and repeating the verse—

“Sweet Mary, sweet Mary, my age is sixteen,
My father's a farmer in sweet Aberdeen,
He has plenty of money to dress me in green,
But there's no bonnie laddie will tak me awa.”

(P. 58, after line 27.)

In Uist, instead of the words “babbity, busty barley” on p. 57, they say “a Mhiss, a Mhiss, a bharley.”

Before the line commencing with the words “I wadna kiss a lassie O,” the following are often introduced—

“Choose ye wha we'll tak, wha ye'll tak, wha ye'll tak,
Choose ye wha ye'll tak, a laddie or a lassie O.”

(P. 66, after line 18.)

The bulk of the players standing in a ring or a row, with one

in front who sings a verse and chooses another to take her place are common.

"Cherry cheeks and roses, cherry cheeks and roses,
Cherry cheeks and roses, drumpy, drumpy, dry."

Having chosen the other she says—

"Here's the one that I love best, that I love best, that I love best,
Here's the one that I love best, drumpy drumpy, dry."

In the following the ring sings first as they circle round—

"Every wife for her husband,
Every widow for her son,
Every lassie for a laddie,
Till the boundary is done.

"Seize a basin full of water
And a towel in her hand
Rings of gold on every finger
Like a diamond in the sun."

The centre girl chooses another, they clasp and dance round singing—

"I will take a glass of whisky,
I will take a cup of tea,
I will take a bonnie lassie,
That's the thing that pleases me."

In the following the mass of the players stand in a row, the one to make the choice marching up and down in front.

1. "Green grows the rushes O,
My boots are made of silver,
A white rosette upon my breast,
And a gold ring on my finger."

The choice is made, both sing the same verse, the first one joins the row, etc.

2. The single player sings—

"Here's a poor widow, she's left alone,
She has no one to marry upon,
Come choose in the east, come choose in the west,
Come choose the very one you love best."

One is chosen and the two sing—

“Here’s a couple that’s married together,
Married together, married together;
Here’s a couple that’s married together,
Drinking tea and kissing each other.”

The Farmer's Den

Comes under this heading, and is given as reported, but there is really no playing in it. The players stand in a circle with one in the centre. She says as she chooses one from the circle, “The farmer wants a wife.” The wife then chooses one, saying, “The farmer’s wife wants a child.” The chosen child says, while choosing one, “The farmer’s wife’s child wants a nurse,” and the chosen nurse says, “The farmer’s wife’s child’s nurse wants a dog.” If the performance is to be repeated, the dog chosen represents the farmer.

When partners have been chosen they may amuse themselves in some particular way.

Row Chow Tobacco.

Having sought a green grassy slope, the couple lock themselves firmly together, and lying down roll from top to bottom, singing,

“Row chow, row chow, row chow tobacco O.
You’ll give me a cup of tea and I’ll give you tobacco O.”

2. The couple “cleek” their right arms and whirl round singing—

“Hook and eyes and oggrie dean.” (Repeat.)

3. Each couple clasp hands facing each other, four playing, their arms crossed, right hand in right hand, left hand in left hand. They then pull each other backwards and forwards.

“If you want to see King William,
Take your trumpet to the cross,
There you’ll see a noble lady
Riding on a big black horse.
Riddle, doodle, deedle, daddle, (Repeat thrice.)
Riding on a big black horse.”

In Uist they repeat “Row chow tobacco” instead of “If ye want,” etc.

4. *Tie up the Dumplings.*

The position taken up is the same as in No. 3, but the pairs with their hands clasped stand separately, and one pair repeats—

“One in a bush, two in a bush,
Please, young ladies, come into my house.”

The couple invited pass in below the arms of the inviters, and then all four dance, singing—

“Tie up the dumplings, tie up the dumplings,
Tie up the dumplings, one, two, three.”

R. C. MACLAGAN.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

RIDDLE OR CHARM?

(Vol. xiii., p. 421.)

The first of the riddles recorded in Miss Salmon's *Folklore of the Kennet Valley* was told me by an old Dorset woman, now dead, as a *charm*. It was taught her as a child by her grandmother, then an aged woman. She did not know why it was supposed to be a charm, but it was always called so. Her version ran as follows:

"J. I. and P. P.
They both did agree
To put to death J. C.
Which they could not do without the will of G.
M. M. and M. V.
Wept with horror and grief to see
The malice and wickedness of P. P."

F. BARRY.

Leweston, near Lyme Regis.

"I'LL PUT MY FOOT IN THE FIRE!"

(Vol. xv., p. 104.)

In 1552, Cranmer offered to *put his foot in the fire* against Knox, to prove that Knox was wrong about the Black Rubric (Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England* (1875), p. 104). I don't see the connection of ideas, but the phrase is the same.

A. LANG.

GROUP MARRIAGE.

(Vol. xv., pp. 466, 472.)

Probably other readers of *Folk-Lore* beside myself, have observed in Mr. Hartland's review of Spencer and Gillen the phrase, "group marriage can hardly arise . . . under father-right." Now, if by father-right no more is meant than the tracing of kinship—totemic, class, or phratriac bonds—through the father, it is hardly clear why it is inconsistent with father-right; for (a) if one husband takes precedence there is no reason why the child should not follow him; and (b) if the woman is allied to a group of brothers with equal rights, there is no question as to the totemic designation of the child. Only, therefore, if Mr. Hartland understands by "group marriage"—an ill-defined and variously used term—something other than the forms I have mentioned, does his argument hold good.

The point, however, on which I wish to understand his view is the origin of group marriage. The phrase I have quoted suggests that it arose out of monogamous relations—a view very different from that of Spencer and Gillen or Howitt. Group marriage on this view is simply a bye-path, teratological, not embryological. But if this statement of his view is correct, Mr. Hartland can clearly not endorse the statement of Spencer and Gillen that "group marriage preceded the modified form of individual marriage"; for the only group marriage which is likely to arise out of monogamy is precisely what Spencer and Gillen describe as "the modified form of individual marriage," and not the union of all the persons who are in the *noa* relationship. Mr. Hartland, however, on p. 466, endorses, so far as I can see, the *noa*-group theory, and thus contradicts his later statement, unless my view of the probabilities is wrong.

The fact of group marriage—in the sense of *pirrauru*—is unquestionable; the theory of group marriage—in the sense of *noa*-group union—highly problematical. If Mr. Hartland endorses the latter theory, how does he suppose that it "arose" under mother-right?

N. W. THOMAS.

THE ELDER-TREE.

The following appeared in the *Daily Chronicle*, 16th Dec., 1904:

"A few days ago a gamekeeper named Albert Povey, in the service of Sir John Burgoyne, of Sutton Park, Bedfordshire, was chasing some fowls from a spinney to the roost, when he tripped up on an elder-bush, a spike of which entered his hand. It is a popular superstition that a wound from the elder is fatal, and it proved so in this case. The wound was promptly dressed, and an operation was performed a few days later at Cambridge Hospital, but he died in that institution yesterday from tetanus."

The actual cause of death was the presence of the tetanus bacteria induced by the dirt on the splinter, which was in a chicken-run.

ALBINIA WHERRY.

Cambridge.

TRANSLATION OF MALTESE FOLK-TALES.

I have published two booklets of *Folklore and Folktales of the Maltese*, in the original tongue. Several people, both here and in England, have asked me to translate them into English. I have no time at my disposal for the purpose. My collection of folk-tales is far from being complete, and whenever I have a little free time, I gather fresh tales in Maltese, for fear of their being lost. I cannot find anyone who will translate them for me. Will some fellow-member of the Folklore Society, acquainted with Maltese, kindly volunteer to do so?

E. MAGRI, S.J.

The Seminary, Gozo, Malta.

REVIEWS.

THE NATIVE TRIBES OF SOUTH-EAST AUSTRALIA. By A. W. HOWITT, D.Sc. Macmillan & Co. 1904.

FOLLOWING the important works of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen on the Central tribes and the North-Central tribes of Australia, we have in the work before us a detailed account of the tribes over a wide extent of country, embracing the whole of the south-east of the continent, from southern Queensland to South Australia, both inclusive. Dr. Howitt, years ago, in *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (written in conjunction with Dr. Fison), and in papers contributed to the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, made known his quality as an experienced and acute observer, and furnished valuable material for study to anthropologists. He has now gathered into one volume, revised and greatly extended, his contributions to our knowledge of the Australian race. The result is a work which easily takes rank with those above referred to, and which is, like them, indispensable to the student of human institutions and beliefs.

The author begins with a discussion of the origin of the race. His researches lead him to the conclusion that Australia and Tasmania were originally inhabited by a Melanesian people, who probably came from New Guinea at an exceedingly remote period before either the Torres Strait or Bass Strait was formed; that after the formation of Bass Strait had cut off a portion of the population from the main body, a further invasion of Australia took place by "some other race, probably a low form of Caucasian Melanochroi," which amalgamated with the original settlers. This is the theory of Sir W. H. Flower and Mr. Lydekker; and

Dr. Howitt points to such sporadic peoples as the Veddahs, the Todas, the Ainu and others, Asiatic tribes which furnish just the characteristics required in the hypothetical invaders.

A careful geographical description of the tribes dealt with in the book forms the second chapter, illustrated with maps. The author then plunges into his main subject, first of all, both here and in the geographical description, carefully defining the terms he uses. This is especially necessary because the words are not all used in the ordinary anthropological sense, if such a sense can be attributed to them. Care and caution are indeed noticeable throughout the volume. Even when, as on page 170, the interpretation of a certain set of facts in a particular way would exactly suit a theory of the evolution of native institutions which he strongly holds, Dr. Howitt hesitates to adopt it, being of opinion that another interpretation is possible, and being, he says, "unable to quite satisfy myself" on the point. This gives confidence alike in his evidence (much of it collected at first-hand and the rest assiduously sifted), and in his conclusions, from which the student will only differ with very great respect, if at all.

The theory just referred to is that of a series of reformatory movements initiated from time to time by the elders of the tribe after mature deliberation. It is a theory *à priori* probable. The Australian race has been isolated from immemorial antiquity. The tribes are found in varying degrees of evolution. To produce this evolution the impulse must have come from somewhere. But it could not have come from any source external to the continent. The old men of a tribe collectively are the authority, and the only authority recognized. What they are agreed on is carried out. Here then we have a power which might effect reforms. A given reform once effected in a tribe might slowly spread by means of friendly intercourse between neighbouring tribes on different occasions. It might indeed be rejected in one tribe, but equally well it might be accepted and imitated in another. It might never reach the knowledge of distant or permanently hostile tribes, or only reach them as a vague rumour, and never be seriously considered; while they on their part might have received and acted on an impulse of the same kind, but varying in details, or directed to quite other

social arrangements. It is hard to see how else the differences between the institutions of the various tribes are to be accounted for; and the onus of proof lies upon those who challenge the theory.

But it must be admitted that, when we come to apply it, the theory is not without its difficulties. Dr. Howitt suggests (p. 89) that a social change of the kind indicated might be brought about by a dream in which a man of great repute in the tribe—a medicine-man for instance—dreamed he was visited by “some supernatural being, such as Kutchi of the Dieri, Bunjil of the Wurunjerri, or Daramulun of the Coast Murring,” from whom he received a command which he would communicate to his fellow-medicine-men; by these it would be first discussed and, if accepted, afterwards announced to the people. The suggestion may perhaps account for later changes among some of the more advanced tribes of the south-east; but it is obvious that, put thus, it will not account for a reform among tribes like the Arunta which do not recognize a Bunjil or a Daramulun. In fact, as Mr. Lang has pointed out in *Man* for January last, the difficulty is to imagine the *first* step. What was the tribe, or the horde, or whatever we please to call the group, before the first attempt at organization took place? Of course this is a difficulty that confronts us everywhere as we seek for human beginnings: it is not peculiar to Australia. What is peculiar to Australia (though not without some analogies elsewhere) is the fundamental division of a tribe into two intermarrying moieties. There are few tribes, most if not all of them coast-tribes, in which we do not find at least traces of this dual system. There is, therefore, reason to think that all the tribes were originally so divided. If the theory of a reformatory movement be sound, it must apply to this division. The competing theory, favoured by Mr. Lang is, if I understand rightly, that of a union between two previously exogamous groups, based on mutual rights of *connubium*. It is plausible; but it would seem to involve no less difficulty than the other. One cannot help thinking it odd that everywhere the tribe should be divided into two intermarrying moieties and no more. If two groups might have united, why not three, why not five, on the footing of mutual *connubium*?

Moreover, the subdivision of the moieties into two or four sub-classes, and the sharing of the totems between the moieties, are unmistakable signs of conscious elaboration. If the elaboration were conscious, why not the original division? The motive for such a division is assuredly not beyond conjecture, at all events on the assumption of primitive promiscuity. There are grounds for believing that jealousy was by no means so fully developed in primitive times as later. Still, then as now, "individual likes and dislikes must have existed," and these, even in so scant a population as that of Australia, must have been the cause of quarrels, and possibly have "bred fruitful hot water for all parties." The division of the tribe into two exogamous moieties would not have been effectual in stopping all these. It would not have prevented the union of father and daughter; but it would have limited the right of *connubium* to some extent. As the first step in organization, it was perhaps as far as conservative savages who had hitherto known no organization would or could go. It rendered possible future steps, and led ultimately to the recognition of blood-relationship. Even in an unorganized horde the power would rest with the men of maturity and experience. Bunjil or Daramulun would be a stranger to their dreams. Ancestor-worship would of course be as yet unknown. Yet their meditations on the quarrels and bloodshed among themselves, and their own personal insecurity from men who spoke their own dialect and with whom they were in frequent association, as well as from strangers, might in sleep have taken the form of visits from deceased victims whom they had known, with whom they had been in friendly intercourse, or whom perhaps they had slain in anger—visits the object of which was to suggest "a more excellent way." Without such visits, however, it is quite conceivable that the first step on the journey of civilization might have been devised, agreed on, and carried out, by men who had come to realize the evils of their present state and the possibility of amendment. The first step taken, the rest was easier. With every fresh step the authority of the elders would augment; and at later stages they would even be able to strengthen it, as Dr. Howitt conjectures, by superhuman commands which the tribe durst not disobey.

The reference to these supernatural commands leads me to another subject discussed by the author. Controversies, portions of which have appeared in the pages of *Folk-Lore*, have compelled Dr. Howitt to clear up the doubts entertained by anthropologists as to the exact status of Baiame, Daramulun, and Co. He has, therefore, not contented himself, as perhaps he otherwise would have done, with recounting the legends and ceremonies relating to these mythical beings. He has carefully examined those legends and ceremonies; he has defined the area within which they are told and practised; he has analysed the statements and opinions of previous writers; he has canvassed the possibility of fraud or error on the part of his own native informants; and he has given the result as it shapes itself in his own mind after forty years of intimate converse with the blackfellow.

The theory put forward in the work which provoked the controversies just alluded to was, in its later and presumably final form, that among man's earliest original conceptions is an idea of a kind, creative, relatively Supreme Being whom men may worship, and that this, contrary to current theories, was earlier than animism, and did not grow out of it, but was in practice (though not entirely in belief) superseded by it. Applying the doctrine to Australia it was contended that Bunjil of the Wotjoballuk, Mungan ngaua of the Kurnai, Baiame of the Kamilaroi, Daramulun of the Coast Murring, and the corresponding mythical personages of other tribes, were to be identified with this relatively Supreme Being. Now, if the identification were correct and the theory well-based, we should expect to find that the most backward tribes had the most fully developed belief in, and the clearest conception of, the Supreme Being in question. But this, so far as has been ascertained, is the direct reverse of the fact. The area of belief in this important Being seems to be confined to the south-east. The tribes which hold it are precisely those in which the greatest advance has been made in social organization. Among them group-marriage (or what look like more or less lively survivals of group-marriage) has given way to individual marriage, descent in the female line has been replaced by that in the male line, the primitive organization under the class system has been abandoned, or is in process of being abandoned, for organization

based on locality, and the most cruel and outrageous practices at initiation are unknown. If it be contended that, save in the last particular, the Arunta fairly answer to this description, I hasten to add that the Arunta present striking evidence in support of Dr. Howitt's case. While they and their neighbours do know of the existence of certain shadowy beings called Twanyirika, Atnatu, and so forth, they have evolved the belief to a very slight extent; and in spite of very careful search Messrs. Spencer and Gillen were quite unable to find anything like even the rudimentary moral character of Baiame or Daramulun attributed to them. It would seem as though (if I may make the suggestion) the tribes outside the south-eastern area relied on the terrific character of the ordeal and their own authority as therein manifested, rather than on any ethical precepts of a supernatural being, to enforce conformity to the tribal code on the part of initiated youths.

Moreover, when the beliefs and practice relating to these mythical beings come to be analyzed, they resolve themselves at last into the conception of what I ventured to call some years ago in these pages a "sublimated head-man." He can "go anywhere and do anything;" and so can the wizard. He was before death, and he still lives. But that is only because he is a wizard more powerful than the rest. His possession of the magical crystals is conclusive as to his real character. He is the tribal Father; but the elders of the tribe are commonly addressed as Father. He dwells in the sky, often as a star, and usually with ancestral ghosts who, like himself, lived formerly on earth. Whether worship is actually paid to him depends on the definition of worship. Ancestor-worship is as yet unknown to the Australians; but we find them at a stage out of which it might and probably would in time have grown, had it not been for the irruption of the white race. Possibly with it there would have evolved, as among the Bantu, the rudiments of a belief in a Supreme Being. This, however, is no more than conjecture.

Among other subjects treated of by Dr. Howitt, the most interesting in the present anthropological controversies is that of the alleged institution of group-marriage. It is a subject far too large to be discussed here. Dr. Howitt believes that certain

of the Australian practices are referable to group-marriage, of which he claims them as a survival. Holding strongly, as I do, that civilization has been on its institutional side a progressive regulation of human affairs, it seems to me that the presumption is that he is right. In any case, he has in this volume co-ordinated a mass of evidence, much of it, thanks chiefly to him, previously known. It is a very happy thing that he has been able to collect, put into final shape, and present in the light of his long and valuable experience of the blackfellow, all the interesting and important details to be found in these pages.

Nor is this observation to be confined to the subject of marriage. It extends to every part of aboriginal life expounded by the author. For instance, the tables of relationship and of the relationship-terms may perhaps be passed over as dry detail by all but very careful readers. Yet they contain some of the most instructive information in the book. There is, however, one matter here to which I must refer. The table of Dieri marriages and descents, facing p. 159, shews, among the descendants of the pair numbered respectively 2 and 6, unexpected changes of totem. The son of the Mulu (caterpillar) woman should, according to the rule of descent prevailing among the Dieri, be a Mulu; but he is in fact given as a Warogati (emu). The son of the Tidnamara (frog) woman is given as a Kaualka (crow). The explanation seems to be found on p. 161, where we read: "In one or two cases a couple had no 'own' son or 'own' daughter, and a 'tribal' son or daughter has been interpolated, *there being, from a Dieri point of view, no difference in the relationship.*" A stronger case could hardly be found to illustrate the meaning of the relationship-terms. But the explanation is hardly complete. Great as are the pains taken by Dr. Howitt to elucidate the meaning of the relationship-terms, I cannot find a definition of "tribal son" or "daughter." The table of Dieri relationship-terms gives one (*Ngata-mura*) which denotes, when a man speaks, child, when a woman speaks, brother's child, and another term (*Ngatani*) which only a woman uses to denote (her own) child. I suspect it also includes her (own and tribal) sister's child. But if so, what is the meaning of "tribal" in this connection? One would naturally suppose it limited to children not

merely belonging to the tribe, nor to the exogamous moiety of the tribe to which the woman speaking belongs, but to children of women of her generation within the totem. Can the Dieri usage extend the meaning of "child," "son," "daughter," "brother," "sister" beyond the totem to persons belonging to the same moiety of the tribe? And is this usage found among all tribes where the totem is in full force and reckoned by descent? If so, it affords an additional argument for the theory that the distinction between the exogamous moieties is more fundamental, and therefore earlier, than between the totems, an additional support for the hypothesis of the intentional bisection of the horde as the beginning of organization.

I am not quite sure whether Dr. Howitt holds this view. Some years ago he expressed the opinion in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* that the exogamous moieties were originally totem-clans. He does not repeat it in this volume, though I infer (see p. 151) that he still inclines to it. As to the origin of totems and totemism he guards himself from a definite judgement. Rightly, as it seems to me, rejecting the hypothesis that "the primary function of a totemistic group is to ensure by magic a supply of the object which gives its name to the group," as well as the hypothesis that totems originated in nicknames, he thinks more favourably of Dr. Haddon's suggestion that they arose out of the special varieties of food adopted by different groups in consequence of their different environment. But if so, and if the exogamous moieties were originally totem-clans, what becomes of the theory of intentional bisection? It is possible that, as he says, exogamy is merely a secondary feature of totemism, though the legends of the Alcheringa and similar traditions are a deceitful foundation for such an opinion. But, to recur to a previous query, why should there have been only two, and exactly two, such groups in every local unit called a tribe? I am puzzled therefore; and I would fain hope that Dr. Howitt will be good enough to tell us explicitly to what extent the Dieri and other tribes recognize the relationships of son, daughter, brother, and sister; whether they transcend the limits of the totem-group, and if they do, how far; and moreover, what is his opinion on the points raised in the present and the immediately preceding paragraphs,

Perhaps the pages of *Folk-Lore* may form a suitable medium of communication.

Many another question might well detain us. But space is limited. I must content myself with expressing a deep sense of indebtedness to Dr. Howitt for a work so valuable and so opportune to students of custom and belief. It can never be superseded. In south-eastern Australia the blackfellow is rapidly dying. His customs in their primitive purity are already gone. The record here given us, and the critical remarks which it contains on those of previous observers, will remain the final authority on the people and their culture.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

WEST AFRICAN BELIEFS.

FETISHISM IN WEST AFRICA. By the REV. R. H. NASSAU.
Duckworth & Co.

LES IDÉES RELIGIEUSES DES FAN. By E. ALLÉGRET. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. I, No. 2, pp. 214-227.

SOME years ago, in *The Making of Religion*, I suggested that the belief in a sky-dwelling "All-Father," benevolent, remote, otiose, a maker of things, not in receipt of sacrifices, seldom the object of prayer, without temples, occasionally regarded as interested in human conduct, was a very early factor in religion, and was most in evidence where there was least competition on the part of ancestor-worship or polytheism. My notion was very unpopular among anthropologists! I was said to believe, or to pretend to believe, in a primitive revelation. As far as I am aware, nobody made researches among my list of "All-Fathers," except in the case of Australia. I have since come across a number of fresh examples, but it has never seemed worth while to trouble people

with an account of them. Recently, in *Native Races of South-east Australia* (pp. 488-508), Dr. Howitt has stated the evidence for the belief in the "All-Father" among many tribes whose social organization is of the most primitive type. He adds, "In this being, although supernatural, there is no trace of a divine nature." A supernatural All-Father and benefactor of men seems to me to have as much of the "divine nature" as can reasonably be expected, and how Dr. Howitt defines "divine nature" or "religion"—("it cannot be alleged that these aborigines have consciously any form of religion")—I do not know. Dr. Howitt, however, thinks that, "under favourable conditions" these beliefs "might have developed into an actual religion, based on the worship of Mungan ngaua or Baiame." Probably Dr. Howitt defines religion as "belief *plus* cult," though he does not say so. The invocation of the name of Daramulun, and the dances round his figure, says Dr. Howitt, "might certainly have led up to worship." I shall not argue that they *are* worship, nor trouble the reader with evidence as to prayers to Baiame. At present I am content to leave the case where Dr. Howitt places it, as an unborrowed Australian belief in an "All-Father," who has sometimes an interest in human conduct, who is not evolved out of ancestor-worship, and who might be evolved into a centre of religion, as Dr. Howitt understands religion.

Much akin to the Australian "All-Father" is the West-African belief in Nyambe, as described by Monsieur Allégret, and by the Rev. Robert Nassau, in his *Fetichism in West Africa*. M. Allégret may be a missionary. M. Nassau is a zealous missionary, American and Presbyterian, of forty years' standing, deeply versed, as is M. Allégret, in the languages of the West African tribes. These gentlemen have not scampered through the tribes asking point-blank questions, but after learning the dialects and acquiring the confidence of the natives, have listened to recitals in the evenings, have joined in conversations, have told stories, and been rewarded with native stories in exchange; and reckon more than fifty years of study (adding M. Allégret's fifteen to Mr. Nassau's forty). Mr. Nassau is Miss Kingsley's "one copy of a collection of materials." They may thus be supposed to know what they are talking about. They give absolutely the same

account of native beliefs. There is an obvious surface of fetishism, magic, animism, and ancestor-worship; and there is the belief in an everlasting All-Father *Niambe*, a word with various dialectical forms. He is benevolent, remote, otiose, without sacrifices, and only invoked as "Father Niambe" in ejaculations, in moments of danger or trouble.

The Fans, says M. Allégret, believe in Nzame (Nyambe) as "the creator of all things." Without consulting M. Allégret one is disposed to think that, in all probability, the Fans must have other and contradictory myths, showing how some things were evolved, rather than created. This is usually the case, and I would meanwhile regard the word "all" as probably too sweeping, and "created" as perhaps too metaphysical, though even the Arunta have terms as metaphysical as any in Hegel, and, as the Atnatu of the Kaitish "made himself," according to Messrs. Spencer and Gillen (*Northern Tribes*, p. 498), creation is the only word for the achievement. Nzame, like most of the Australian All-Fathers, once dwelt among men; he left them because of their disobedience. Atnatu, on the other hand, for the same fault, expelled men from heaven, sending down to them "everything which the blackfellow has," and demanding from them ceremonial performances, circumcision, and the use of the bull-roarer. Though not credited with care for ethics, this Atnatu has the makings, in Central Australia, of the All-Fathers of the South-Eastern tribes. Nzame, among the Fans, dwells on high, and a vague belief in his government of the world is quickly disappearing, but is more marked among old people, and up country, than among the young and the dwellers on the river. For the rendering of the native names M. Allégret must be consulted, and the verdict of other philologists is desirable.

Mr. Nassau, though a most intelligent and experienced worker, believes in the theory of a primitive revelation; and shows little knowledge of writers like Mr. E. B. Tylor. Professor Menzies' *History of Religion* seems to be his favourite authority, almost his only authority, as to modern speculations on origins. Of course it is perfectly possible to hold, as I do, that the belief in such a being as Nyambe is very early indeed, yet not to embrace the daring hypothesis of a direct supernormal revelation to primitive

man. Mr. Nassau quotes a not uncommon eccentricity of logic: M. Dècle writes that the Barotse "believe in a supreme Being, Nyambe. . . ." and also, of the Matabele, that "the idea of a Supreme Being is utterly foreign to, and cannot be appreciated by the native mind." Eyre contradicts himself in the same way about his Australians; and I have observed the identical confusion in the work of an eminent living student of certain Australian tribes. The belief in the "All-Father," of course, is not on the level of a bishop's or of a philosopher's attempt to conceive the Deity, but it is very nearly on a level with the conception as illustrated by some passages in the Pentateuch. From the Deity of these passages, and from Baïame and Nyambe, it is easier to work up to the philosophic or Christian conception of God, than from the Zeus of Greece, or from the President of the divine consistory of any other polytheistic religion. Any one who compares Mr. Nassau's pages 35, 30, with the essay of M. Allégret, will see that these observers precisely corroborate each other as to the nature of the belief in Nyambe, as to its wide diffusion, as to its want of influence on conduct, and as to a vague "yearning after" Nyambe, to quote Eumæus in the *Odyssey*. "He made these trees, that mountain, this river, these goats and chickens," say the natives (Nassau, p. 37). Yet I make little doubt that the natives have also other myths, explaining in detail how this, that, or the other object came to exist. "In practice they give Nyambe no worship," and this, as I have elsewhere shown, is almost universally the case where such All-Fathers exist among savage or barbarous conceptions. The All-Father is *nihil indiga nostri*: sacrifices are for ancestral gods, and for fetish rocks, trees, pools, and so forth. In Israel they came to be transferred to the Being held most high; among known savages this is almost unexampled.

Our two authors agree as well in their accounts of belief about spirits, magic, and fetishes of all sorts and sizes, as in their remarks on Nyambe. Mr. Nassau appears to find crystal-gazing (p. 134). In his paragraph on Totemism (p. 210) he appears to mix up Totems, Siboko, and Nyarongs (animal familiars) in helpless confusion. This is not unusual, unluckily. Mr. Nassau's examples of *Märchen*, some of which have European variants, is

of much interest to folklorists. The author's experience is great, but he appears to have a very superficial knowledge of the work of anthropologists of the study. Have the natives large secret supplies of radium? (cf. p. 283). The heart of their magic has not been reached by Mr. Nassau, or by any white man.

A. LANG.

ZWEI JAHRE UNTER DEN KANNIBALEN DER SALOMO-INSELN:
Reiseerlebnisse und Schilderungen von Land und Leuten.
By CARL RIBBE. 352 pp. 86 figures in the text. 14
plates. 10 diagrams and 3 maps. Dresden-Blasewitz,
Elbgau-Buchdruckerei, H. Beyer, 1903.

THERE are very few parts of the world which would better repay thorough anthropological investigation than Melanesia, and one of the most fascinating fields for research in that region is the ethnology of the Solomon Islands. To accomplish this effectively not only must sufficient time be given, but preliminary training is necessary, and it is not specially evident that Carl Ribbe, who has published the results of his wandering for two years in that group, had that qualification. He is a good observer, and tells us many interesting facts, but his accounts of social and religious institutions lack thoroughness; for example, like most travellers, he constantly employs the word "devil" without, in every case, mentioning what is implied by that term. Travellers should always note, and print, a native word, despite the fact that the expression "devil" may be used by the native in the English jargon that he speaks to a foreigner. The majority of the figures in the text are from paintings by the author; they illustrate the text, but actual photographs would have been better. Incidentally, a student can gather from the illustrations something about the distribution of certain designs and ornaments, but this is a subject that needs to be investigated on the spot by one

who realises its importance. Some measurements and observations of natives are given, but the number of natives, sixteen only, is too small to have much value; the measurements were not well chosen and consequently they are of very little practical value.

There are many accounts that will interest students of arts and crafts, and there are not lacking descriptions and facts that will appeal to the folklorist, as the following extracts will show.

In the Shortland Islands the people are divided into totemic groups, the totems being mainly animals, such as the cuscus, pigeon, eagle, crocodile, shark. The people of one totem may, or may not, be friendly with those of another totem. Marriage may not take place within the totem, a son belongs to the same totem as his mother, and therefore may be a totem enemy to his father. People belonging to different islands who have a common totem are regarded as kin in spite of the fact that they may speak a different dialect or language; for example, the totems of the Shortland Islands have adherents in North Choiseul, in Treasury, and in the N.E. and S.W. coast of Bougainville. Thus it happens that during a war people may pass over to an enemy's village under the protection of his totem-kin. At dances, marriages, and deaths, indeed, at all festivities, there are definite rules as to the order in which the members of the totem groups must arrive and eat. Each village contains council-houses which are the headquarters of various totems and each totem group has a headman who may be the village headman as well.

If a man marries a woman of lower social rank than himself she and her children are raised to his level, but if the woman be of higher rank than her husband, he is raised to her level. The price paid for a wife is in proportion to her station. In the marriage ceremony of a well-born woman of the Shortlands all the inhabitants of the village into which the woman marries prepare a great feast. When cooked, the food is put into canoes and brought as quickly as possible to the village of the bride so that it may arrive still warm, then all eat together. First the men dance and then the women, but no men may see the latter dance except the bridegroom, who climbs a tree and peeps between the twigs and leaves. The bridegroom and his people return to their village, and the inhabitants of the bride's village bring them a

feast. Thus feasting goes on until the last pig is killed, and then the father, brother, or uncle, whoever is the highest, brings the bride to the bridegroom. Everybody who can, accompanies the bride, who sits in the largest canoe and is covered with mats. As the canoe nears the house of the bridegroom all the men must walk away till the bride is ashore and the wife-dance has been danced. This is performed by the female relations of the bride and bridegroom. The men's dance is held when everyone is assembled on the shore. Feasting then goes on till the food gives out.

The world, and its inhabitants, according to the Shortland tradition, were made by the god Tonatana. At first there was no death, but it arose in this way: Tonatana created a wife, and in order that she should not be alone gave her a child. The wife was eternally young because at certain times she peeled off her old skin and put on a new one. One day when she was engaged with her skin-changing she unluckily allowed her child to go by the entrance, and when the child saw her changing her skin, he was greatly disturbed and began to scream vigorously. The mother being worried about the crying child made several mistakes in putting on her skin, so that the whole would not completely fit, and as she attempted to get rid of the faults by putting the skin on again, she fell down dead. They tell numerous stories when seated round the fire in the evenings; four of these folk-tales are given.

All the dead are changed into devils in Nitus and go from Alu (the largest of the Shortland Islands) to the Crown-Prince mountains and to the heights of Gieta on Bougainville, and after they have remained there some time they must betake themselves to the volcano Bagama and to Balbi mountain in the north of that island. The souls of chiefs go to a certain person, who is a great magician and wields much power.

There are two kinds of devils: the Sakesali are bad, they rob children, bring storms and sickness, in short, they cause all disasters; they are the bush devils who steal the souls of those lost in the bush or drowned in streams. The magicians can capture these souls and send them to the ordinary place Nitus. The Koriti are good ghosts or devils who protect seafarers, children,

canoes, houses, and plantations. Crocodiles are held as sacred, and are fed with pigs, dogs, and even with human flesh. In case of sickness a devil-charmer is called in, and he often makes puppets of wood to imitate the devils, which are fed and carried about; at a certain time these are burnt or thrown into the sea as the patient recovers.

A. C. HADDON.

TRADITIONS OF THE SKIDI PAWNEE. BY GEORGE A. DORSEY
(Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, vol. viii).
Boston, 1904, pp. xxvi., 366, with 15 Plates.

AFTER an interval of five years the American Folklore Society has again begun to issue its Memoirs, which include up to the present one volume of Angola Märchen, three of white American, and one of Bahama Folklore, and one each of Navaho and Thompson River Indian legends. Few will regret that they now seem to regard the Amerind as a specially suitable field of work, and it is satisfactory to know that the three other Pawnee bands, together with the allied Arikara, Wichita and Caddo, will be dealt with in due course.

The present volume opens with an account of the Skidi Pawnee, and gives some details as to their cult and their daily life; the traditions and the classification adopted for them are also dealt with. By a wise decision, six of the plates are devoted to showing various types of Pawnees; the Folklore Society might consider the advisability of illustrating the series of County Folklore in the same way; neither traditions nor customs can properly be studied except in connection with the life of a people, and into this we cannot get an insight from printed extracts.

The traditions, to which numerous explanatory notes are appended, fall into six classes—cosmogonic (23) and with them the religious myths, tales of boy heroes (22), medicine (14), animal (18), and transformation (6) tales, and finally miscellaneous (7). Two points of interest as to these may be noted at the outset.

There are certain magic bundles and dances; each, with its own ritual and tale of origin, is the property of an individual, who regards it as part of his life, and refuses to tell all he knows, unless he be ready to die. Naturally the traditions do not always remain his exclusive property, but pass from mouth to mouth; in the process, however, they lose their sanctity, and become no more than nursery tales. The second point relates to the Coyote stories, narratives in which some one by the exercise of boldness or ingenuity, emerges from a combat victorious. Like the *märchen* told in the East Indies at harvest time, these stories have their special period of the year; they are told when the Coyote star is not visible, for he does not like to be talked about, and would tell the snake star to send snakes to bite those who spoke of him in summer.

It is naturally impossible to do more than glance at one or two of the ninety stories, which are told virtually in the same words as were used by the Indian interpreter. Each, it may be noted, is preceded by a brief abstract. Perhaps the most generally interesting group is the first—that of cosmogonic religious myths—and this is largely due to the fact that the Pawnee pantheon was amongst the most highly developed of any, in proof of which may be quoted the fact already referred to that the coyote and snake tutelary deities have not only been transformed from *manitos*, such as, if analogy may be trusted, they must have been originally, into gods, but have become associated with the astral cult, which now dominates Pawnee religion. We may, however, feel some doubts as to the aboriginal character of all the elements of these myths. For the Pawnee time begins with a meeting of gods in Tirawahut (the Universe-and-Everything-Inside) under the presidency of Tirawa, whose spouse is Atira (Vault of the Sky). As Mr. Dorsey points out, the cosmogonic tales are not at first hand, as a rule, and with this exordium the caution is perhaps hardly needed. It seems clear, for example, that Tirawahut means no more than the place of Tirawa; Atira means literally, we are told in a note, born from corn. (Grinnell, p. 254, says it is the name applied to the corn, and means "mother"), and we can hardly avoid the supposition that the myth has suffered considerably in parts from retouching.

It is somewhat unfortunate that, in spite of the notes, references are often conspicuous by their absence. Previous authors have not discriminated between the various bands, and it would have been well to give the reference and the reasons for supposing that the band to which they refer is not Skidi. Dunbar, for example, in the *Magazine of American History* (1882, p. 743 sq.), gives some additional details of the deluge legend, to which de Smet, *Missions of Oregon*, p. 357, and Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. 354 sq., also refer; but none of these versions are cited. Dunbar, too, gives an entirely different account of the journey of the soul after death.

In connection with the buffalo-skull medicine lodge (p. 210), reference might well have been made to du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, Paris, 1800, p. 270, who describes, without naming the tribe, customs of great interest in themselves, and nearly related to European agricultural customs. He says the Indians call the painted skull of a buffalo-cow by the name of "mother," and think it has the power of attracting the buffaloes. When seed-time arrives the seed-corn is brought to the lodge, and ceremonies are performed to secure a good harvest. Another account is given by Grinnell (p. 372), who mentions that after the buffalo dance, the ground is searched for buffalo hairs, and the finding of them is regarded as a good omen for hunting and harvest. In this volume before (pp. 85, 344), another magical ceremony, now no more than a game, is described, in which a ring of buffalo-hide is to be traversed by a spear. The fragmentary accounts of customs, given in explanation of the text, will doubtless be amplified in other publications, but it seems rather a pity that on some of the more interesting points full information could not have been given in the current volume.

One is, perhaps, unduly exacting, with a volume of such interest before one, an interest which, it may be said, is far from being purely anthropological, if one asks for more; but the excellence of what is given compels regret that so much is left untold.

N. W. THOMAS.

A PHONETICAL STUDY OF THE ESKIMO LANGUAGE, BASED ON OBSERVATIONS MADE ON A JOURNEY IN NORTH GREENLAND, 1900-1901. By WILLIAM THALBITZER. Reprint from *Meddelelser om Grønland*, vol. xxxi. Copenhagen, 1904.

THE special interest of this work to students of folklore is confined within a comparatively few pages. The author, in order to qualify himself for a scientific study of the language, undertook a laborious journey to Greenland, where he remained for more than a year. During that time he devoted himself to intercourse with the people, and the making of elaborate notes on the language. Incidentally he took down a considerable number of folktales and songs. Eight of the former, and 120 of the latter are here given. Of the former, the common North American story of the Sun and Moon, and the European story of Big Peter and Little Peter transplanted into Eskimo environment are perhaps the most noteworthy. Another tale which might have proved of interest is only partly given. The drum-songs are at least as primitive as the tales. They are a kind of recitative accompanying the drum-dances, and possess the usual characteristics of savage attempts at song.

Much of the introduction is also interesting. The discussion of the evidence afforded by the language as to the provenience of the various divisions of the Eskimo, and the observations on the intellectual culture of the people, and the effect upon it of European contact, contain much that the folklore student would do well to ponder. An important section of the introduction is formed by the bibliography. Mrs. Sophia Bertelsen has rendered the work into excellent English.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS: 1904. With an INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS by JAMES BRUCE. Published for the Sociological Society. Macmillan. 1905.

THOUGH *Sociological Papers* is, of course, not a book of folklore, yet it is undoubtedly one *qui donne à penser* to the folklorist. It

is the first publication of the newly-formed Sociological Society, of which Mr. Bryce is President, and our old friend and former President, Mr. E. W. Brabrook, Chairman of Council. It consists of the papers read at meetings of the Society during its first session, with notes of the subsequent discussions, and also written comments and criticisms by members unable to be present. The last seems a particularly useful feature. The Society has been fortunate in securing the adhesion of some of the most eminent Continental and American sociologists, and the consequent interchange of views must make for union and progress in the field of study. The present volume deals mainly with the science of Sociology itself, and with the special points of Civic Life and "Eugenics." On neither of the two latter is it necessary to dwell here, but the subject of Sociology itself concerns us more nearly. We ourselves are students of social institutions; in what relation do we stand to the professed sociologists? How is their field of work to be distinguished from ours? We have long outgrown the idea that the object of the folklorist is the mere barren "study of survivals," but where are we to stop in the study of developments? Why do we instinctively feel that the funeral pyre of the Hindoo comes within our scope, and the Crematorium at Woking does not? Where, in short, does the folklorist end and the sociologist begin?

These questions must inevitably occur to every folklorist who may take up the volume before us, though they are neither directly raised nor directly answered in it. In fact, few writers besides our good friend, M. Durkheim,—who (pp. 273, 274) does full justice to the labours of the "anthropological school"—seem aware of the work done by folklorists. But in delimiting their own study, they do something towards defining the scope of ours.

The secretary, Mr. V. V. Branford, thus sketches the task of the sociologist: "(1) That he must construct a reasoned account of the existing phase of that interaction of the sciences and of the arts which we call contemporary civilisation; (2) that he must reconstruct the corresponding phases which historically have preceded and developed the contemporary phase; and (3) that he must work out ideals of more ordered development for the future," (p. 229). Now, surely, the work of "reconstructing

the . . . phases which have preceded and developed the contemporary phase" of civilisation, has been the work of the anthropologist, and in a special sense, that of the folklorist, since anthropological study was first seriously taken in hand. Mr. Branford's first and third points mark out an immense and well-defined field for the labours of the sociologist. The omission of the second would remove the danger of overlapping.

Again, in the (unsigned) Preface to the volume, we read that Dr. Westermarck's paper on the *Position of Women in Early Civilisation* "stands here as a type of the research which sociologists are forced to undertake" . . . "the sociologist is himself forced to undertake specialist research into such subjects as Marriage, War, Sport, Class distinction, etc.; because these have not been brought adequately within any of the existing sub-sciences into which the sociological province is at present partitioned" (p. x.) Our friends of the Anthropological Institute will share our astonishment at this statement.

After this it is a relief to find our whilom colleague, Mr. J. Stuart Glennie, writing thus on page 234: "I trust that I may be permitted respectfully to protest against the double use of the term 'Sociology' to signify both a causal or 'pure' science, 'a theory of the origin, growth, and destiny of humanity'; and an applied science—a science concerned with the construction of principles applicable to the ordering of social life. Anthropology is commonly—as by, for instance, the President of Section H at the last meeting of the British Association—used as 'the most general term denoting the study of man in a wide and all-embracing sense.' Surely it would be desirable with less vagueness to define both Anthropology and Sociology (or, as I should rather say, Politology) by restricting the connotation of the former term of the Causal, and the other to the corresponding Applied, general science of Man." It is pleasant to find oneself thus in agreement with an old opponent.

It will be remembered by those who were present in Section H on the occasion referred to, that the President, Mr. Henry Balfour, went on to predict that it may eventually become advisable to do something in the way of subdivision of so huge a subject. There is in fact scarcely any subject outside mathematics and some

departments of physical science which cannot, by dint of a little skilful manipulation, be classed under anthropology when convenient. At Cambridge irreverent outsiders were heard to speak of Section H as a dumping-ground for all the papers the other sections did not want. Would it be possible for a conference of representatives of the societies concerned to come to some agreement as to their respective areas of work? We are all students of human life, but we study it with different ends in view. Anthropologists, and those who specialise in folklore in particular, study institutions to add to the sum of human knowledge; sociologists, to increase human comfort and progress. The work of the one supplies material for the other. Anthropology embraces the physical characteristics of race, the history of language, the rise of all mechanical arts and crafts, the growth and development of social organisation, etc. Sociology, as Professor Kovalovsky points out (p. 237), needs and uses every kind of historical, legal, and economic knowledge,—we might add, every branch of physical science also—to render its labours fruitful. Folklore specialises, as has been said, in the history of human thought and human institutions—religious, political, legal, and social. Like anthropology in general, it is not concerned with the social problems which occupy the attention of the sociologist, but on the other hand the material side of anthropology is outside its limits, and it has relations to literature which are peculiar to itself. So the matter presents itself to one old folklorist at least: but it would surely be well to thrash out such questions as these, whether by means of a verbal conference or a written symposium.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

STUDIES IN ANGLO-SAXON LITERATURE. By H. M. CHADWICK.
Cambridge University Press.

THE work before us consists of a series of essays on some of the difficult questions arising out of English history between the sixth and tenth centuries inclusive. As such it is very welcome, for the social history of these five centuries is still excessively obscure

and even the most discussed constitutional questions relating to the period have by no means reached anything like a final settlement. In the main, no doubt, this is due to the scarcity of "authorities," but partly also to the small number of scholars who have been content to work at their records without importing into them preconceived notions as to the political ideas of these early times. Mr. Chadwick takes his documents as he finds them in the best modern editions, and has produced work which is frequently suggestive, even if we may not always bear him company as far as his conclusions.

For one thing Mr. Chadwick seems to regard the great body of Anglo-Saxon charters with too unsuspicious an eye. Certainly it is very possible to go too far by way of scepticism, but it is a pretty safe rule that a land-book should be regarded as spurious until it has been proved to be genuine. An instance may be to the point. On the strength of Birch, 1029, Mr. Chadwick has to add five earls to the number of such dignitaries who sign the charters of Eadwig's reign, remarking, at the same time, that four of them reappear in Birch 1044 (which belongs to Edgar's Mercian Kingdom). Now not only is Birch, 1029, very suspicious on internal grounds, but the earliest known copy of it occurs in the *Liber Albus* of York, in which it immediately follows Birch 1044, both charters referring to land in Nottinghamshire. The presumption is very strong that the list of witnesses in Edgar's charter, which has every appearance of being genuine, supplied the material out of which some later forger concocted the string of attestations to Birch 1029. We cannot, therefore, lightly accept any statement relating to Eadwig's reign which rests only on the authority of the latter document.

Mr. Chadwick rightly lays stress on the problems which await solution in connection with the Danelaw, and has devoted an *Excursus* to a discussion of the shifting meanings of the word. Were it not that Mr. Chadwick has definitely ruled *Domesday Book* to lie outside his province we might complain that he did not at this point introduce some account of the brilliant argument from the assessment of the district by which Mr. Round has been able to define its limits. Something also might have been made of the evidence from place-names in this connection. But the

local nomenclature of the Danelaw, like the curious "hundredal" system to which Mr. Chadwick refers, demands much fuller consideration than it has obtained as yet.

We expect that students will hardly be able to agree with Mr. Chadwick in his somewhat indiscriminate use of the word "earl." The evidence to which he himself refers suggests very strongly that the word in its official sense is a Scandinavian importation into the language. This being so, and in view of the very small number of Anglo-Saxon titles to which it is possible to attach a definite meaning it seems a pity to abandon the old distinction between "ealdorman" and "eorl" and to put the latter word to a use which destroys its peculiar significance. On page 254 Mr. Chadwick also makes a rather difficult statement. He is describing the administrative system of Oxfordshire, pointing out that $4\frac{1}{2}$ hundreds were attached to the royal manor of Bensington; 2 to Headington; $2\frac{1}{2}$ to Kirtlington and so on. He then goes on to say, "Is it necessary to suppose that the system came into operation after the organisation of the hundreds? If that was the case one would hardly have expected to find a hundred divided between two royal manors." But surely we are not to suppose that when we read of a "half-hundred" an older hundred has in this case been divided into two. If this was so, what are we to make of such a division as the "hundred-and-a-half"? It seems much more probable that the term "half-hundred" was used to describe an administrative district which contained considerably less than the number of tribes which current opinion considered to be the complement of a full hundred.

One of the most interesting passages in the book is Excursus IV., in which Mr. Chadwick discusses the functions of the national council in Anglo-Saxon times with especial reference to the election of kings. In his treatment of this subject he joins company with a number of modern writers who, by laying stress on the vagueness and uncertainty of early political ideas, mark a very wholesome reaction from the somewhat facile dogmatism of the school represented by Mr. Freeman. Thus, by working through the cases in which the elective powers of the witan have been supposed to be exercised, Mr. Chadwick is able to prove that in no case is its action so distinctly stated as to preclude the

possibility that it was the adhesion of individual nobles, rather than the concerted action of the witan, which really determined the succession to the crown. In this connection he makes a point by observing that in the phrase "*geceosan to cyninge*," which is usually taken as a formula of election, the word "elect" is by no means the only possible translation of "*geceosan*" which also means "select," "approve," "acquire." In fact the only serious argument against Mr. Chadwick's view lies in the passage from Ælfric which he quotes, in which the right of the people to choose their king is distinctly stated. But here Mr. Chadwick suspects the influence of Ælfric's ecclesiastical sympathies and possible foreign ideas, and many students will probably be disposed to agree with him in this.

Mr. Chadwick makes no use of the evidence of folklore. It is not improbable that examination of the boundaries of local custom might have greatly assisted him in determining the limits of the ancient areas which he discusses. So, too, might the consideration of local weights and measures still in popular use in country places. Such measurements as the "digging rood" of eight yards, which cannot be made to correspond with any recognised land-measurement, may yet be found to throw light on the puzzling questions of ancient land-measure. And if it be the fact, as it is said, that there are no local weights and measures in Hampshire, and that the imperial gallon and imperial or "Winchester" bushel are the "use" of local rustic life there, we seem to be taken, by that one survival alone, straight back to the pre-Conquest days of West-Saxon supremacy, which form so important a part of Mr. Chadwick's subject. Information on these points has, however, been so scantily recorded that we can hardly criticize him very severely for not making use of it. Some tables of weights and measures are to be found in that wonderful local encyclopædia the late Miss G. F. Jackson's *Shropshire Word-Book*, and Professor Rhys and Miss C. S. Burne have made some little enquiry into custom-boundaries, with results that are interesting, so far as they go. But on the whole, the subject of local custom has been too much neglected by English folklorists. Even the volumes of *County Folklore* scarcely touch upon it. While surveying mankind "from China to Peru," the folklorist is apt to overlook the

practical assistance he might afford to the historical student of the modern exact school; and the historian cannot fairly be blamed if he does not make use of materials which the folklorist fails to place within his reach.

F. M. STENTON.

JOURNAL OF THE FOLK-SONG SOCIETY, Vol. I., Pt. 5. Spottiswoode & Co., 1904.

THE recent finds of Mr. Cecil Sharp in Somersetshire have opportunely called public attention to the subject of Folk Song, and to the wealth of material to be discovered in our country places by the wise seeker.

Leaving aside the question of pleasure received from the freshness and charm of the individual tunes, the value of the study of folk music is not sufficiently appreciated. It should be of the greatest interest both to the ethnologist and to the literary historian. Specially should it help us in considering the fascinating question of ballad diffusion. For, when a theme has been borrowed, one would look for the tune to be borrowed also, seeing that such things pass from lip to lip rather than from book to book. Therefore the oldest examples of ballads, and ballad themes require careful consideration in this connection, for the original air will probably have at any rate influenced the reflected forms. So far the literary historian. For the ethnologist the collecting of local tunes should be at least as useful and exhilarating a sport as the gathering of skull measurements, for in few things do racial characteristics come out so clearly as in popular music, and the mine has been little worked as yet, either in civilized or in savage society.

Mr. Sharp's brilliant successes should not cause us to forget that he is not the only Richmond in the field. The Folk-Song Society, which we are glad to see will now have his valuable help on its Committee, has done, and is doing, excellent work in collecting and publishing traditional music, especially that of our own

country, a task in which it deserves all possible support. Though, owing to the illness and death of Mrs. Kate Lee, the original and much lamented Honorary Secretary, the work of the Society was checked in 1903, its future progress is assured, for her mantle has fallen on the shoulders of Miss L. E. Broadwood, who needs no introduction to the Folklore Society.

The F. S. S. has also the valuable help of Mr. F. Kidson, whose wide learning and fine library are at the disposal of members. In fact, it seems now to be suffering rather from want of outside interest than from any internal cause. From the *Annual Report*, it appears that the funds are in good case, and the fifth annual number of the *Journal*, now before us, contains forty airs, hitherto unrecorded, of which one only is Scottish, and two Irish, while all the others have been recovered in England itself, and include fifteen songs from Yorkshire, five from Sussex, three from Hampshire, two from Westmoreland, one each from Lancashire, Notts, Salop, Worcester, Somerset, Herts, and Kent, besides five others not referred to any particular county. This is tolerable testimony to the possibilities of the harvest, and to the energy of the little band of collectors, but to use a somewhat clerical formula, "Workers are urgently needed in our country districts." For, as the *Annual Report* very justly says: "No time must be lost, for every day carries off some old singer, with whom some precious tunes may die for ever unrecorded. . . . For this purpose we shall warmly welcome all contributions, not only of traditional songs, words and music, but also of correspondence on matters connected with Folk Song, together with notices of publications bearing on the subject."

"Those who do not feel themselves competent to note down the music may still do useful work by discovering singers, making a list of the songs that the latter can sing, and communicating with the Hon. Secretary of the Society, who will then, if possible, send an expert to note down the songs," says the leaflet of "Hints to Collectors."

"Although folk-music is to be found in all strata of society, the classes from which the most interesting specimens are most readily to be obtained are gardeners, artisans, gamekeepers, shepherds, rustic labourers, gipsies, sailors, fishermen, workers at old-fashioned trades, such as weaving, lace-making, and the like,

as well as domestic servants of the old school, especially nurses. Inmates of workhouses will also be found to know many old songs, and dwellers in towns may best be able to carry on the work of collecting traditional music by applying to such." Then come the practical directions; when making enquiries to use the local vocabulary, which in many places differentiates a folk-song as a "ballet," to draw out the informants' stores by giving illustrations of what is wanted, to note name, address, and occupation, of the informant, and all possible particulars as to the source whence he obtained the song, to give words and notes exactly as sung, without attempting correction. Then as to technical matters; we are advised to let two persons if possible take down the songs, one acquiring the words, the other the music—otherwise, to secure the tune first, and then the words; not to ask for the repetition of *parts* of the tune, as this is apt to lead to mistakes, but not to be afraid to ask to have the whole tune many times repeated; to give the attention to the time, the key-signature, and the intervals, at different repetitions; and so on.

But we are sorry to see that the Society in its publications does not in every case follow the excellent rule laid down for its collectors. "It is desirable that the words of a ballad should be given exactly as they were repeated" . . . To be of value to scholars, songs must be published *whole*; whether in the text or in an appendix is immaterial. Omissions, however well-meant, give a sense of insecurity.

L. M. EYRE.

Books for Review should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF
"FOLK-LORE," c/o DAVID NUTT, 57-59 Long Acre,
London.

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

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[No. II.]

WEDNESDAY, 15th FEBRUARY, 1905.

MR. E. W. BRABROOK, C.B., F.S.A. (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN
THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the Meeting held on December 17th, 1904, were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new Members was announced, viz.: Mr. J. C. Davies, Mr. W. Ford, Mr. J. Harrower Guild, Countess Amherst, Professor Paul Postel, Mr. G. F. Bridge, Mr. F. G. D'Aeth, Mrs. C. J. Dennis, the Rev. J. G. Derrick, Miss F. Barry, and Miss O. Bray.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Sion College Library, the Public Library of Minneapolis, and the Grand Rapids Public Library were added to the list of subscribers.

The deaths of Mr. D. Isaac, Mr. F. D. Mocatta, and Mrs. Kate Lee were announced.

The resignations of Mr. W. Hensman, Miss Thompson, Mr. T. Gilbert, Dr. Brushfield, and Mrs. Naylor were also announced.

Miss Burne exhibited a Corn-baby from Ulster, locally known as a "churn," sent by the Rev. Canon Lett, and

presented by him to the Society. A vote of thanks was accorded to Canon Lett for his gift. [See p. 185]

The Secretary exhibited some photographs of a Phœnician sacred pillar in Melquarts Temple in Malta, sent by the Rev. E. Magri of Gozo, and also a bottle of quern-ground barley-meal from the island of Fuda in the Sound of Barra, sent by Dr. Maclagan.

The Secretary read a note on Fin MacCoul's Pebble, Carlingford, communicated by Mrs. C. J. Dennis [p. 186].

Mr. Albany F. Major read a paper entitled "The Ragnarök and Valhalla Myths, and evidence from which they date," and a discussion followed, in which Mrs. Collingwood, Dr. Jon Stefansson, Miss W. Faraday, Mr. Kirby, and Miss Eyre took part.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to Mr. Major for his paper.

The following books and papers which had been presented to the Society since June, 1904, were laid on the table, viz.:

The Mythology of Koryak, by Waldemar Jochelson, presented by the author.

Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VII, No. 1, presented by the Society.

X-Igheid il Malti fuk misserijietna v. l. ġganti, Storia ta Malta Li ma nchitbet Katt Kabel I. and II., presented by the Rev. E. Magri.

Report of the Administration of the Government Museum and Connemara Public Library, 1903, 1904, presented by the Government of Madras.

Epigraphi Zeylanica, Part I., edited by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe, presented by the Government of Ceylon.

Buddhism, Vol. I., No. 4, presented by the International Buddhist Society.

Annals of Gonville and Caius College, by exchange with the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

WEDNESDAY, 15th MARCH, 1905.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. D. ROUSE) IN THE
CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The addition of the Imperial Court Library, Vienna, and the Public Library of the District of Columbia to the list of subscribers was announced.

The death of Mr. J. Hodgkin and the resignation of Mr. S. O. Addy were also announced.

The Secretary read a letter from Mr. H. M. Bower, the author of *The Ceri of Gubbio*, regretting his inability to be present at the Meeting.

A note on the Scoppio del Carro at Florence, by Miss Jessie L. Weston [p. 182], having been read, Mrs. Wherry read some notes on "Processions of the Dancing Towers in Italy," and exhibited a number of photographs and drawings illustrating the subject.

Mr. Günther then read a paper entitled "The Cimaruta," [p. 132], and exhibited several specimens and drawings of Cimaruta charms [see Plates]. Miss B. Wherry also exhibited a silver charm-necklace from Italy.

A discussion followed on Mrs. Wherry's and Mr. Günther's papers, in which the President, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Nutt took part.

The Meeting terminated with the usual votes of thanks to the readers of papers and exhibitors of objects.

THE CIMARUTA: ITS STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT.

R. T. GÜNTHER, M.A., F.L.S.
Magdalen College, Oxford.

(*Read at Meeting, 15th March, 1905.*)

SUPERSTITIOUS observances, which have either been long extinct or are half smothered beneath a cloak of shame among Northern Europeans, still flourish with a surprising vigour in Southern Italy; nay, are so grafted upon the ordinary customs as to constitute a very real part of the everyday life of the people. Foremost among these superstitions, and perhaps the most deeply rooted of them all, is the belief in the power of the Evil Eye, the *mal'occhio*, or, to use a more entirely Neapolitan expression, the *jettatura*.

Jettatori, or bringers of ill-luck, differ from witches in the northern sense, in that ill-luck may be brought on by them unconsciously, and without malice prepense. This evil influence may at any moment cast a spell on the unwary. A chance meeting with the *jettatore* when you are on business bent, will mar the issue of it; if he kindly wishes you "good-day," your day will be a series of annoyances, if not of misfortunes; his presence anywhere will occasion accidents which will affect all present but himself. Even animals do not escape; but the most susceptible to the malign influence are the firm believers in it, the ignorant, and the very young.

In Naples, amulets intended to secure the wearer against the power of the *jettatore*, are to be procured at reasonable

prices at the coral and tortoise-shell, silversmiths', and jewellers' shops, which are patronised by rich and poor alike. In their show-cases may be seen rows of twisted pieces of coral, hearts fashioned from bone, shell, and coral, fists with fingers variously extended or doubled up, hunch-backed mannikins, pigs, nuts, trefoil, claws, horns, teeth, and many others besides. For the modest sum of half a franc anybody may become the possessor of a talisman warranted to avert all the manifold ills that flesh is heir to; and even of up-to-date collections of such amulets, strung up together on a central ring so as to form complete batteries, which must be invincible in the struggle against all possible kinds of evil! But in the smaller shops, in quarters frequented by a more rustic *clientèle*, and in the provinces, the amulets are of less modern type, and, though of inferior workmanship, bear a closer resemblance to those of older date, which are often to be picked up at the curiosity-dealers, and whose prototypes are to be found in museums.

It is the Neapolitan's firm conviction that an amulet of ancient type, well-worn and bearing the scars of many an encounter with the powers of evil, is none the less potent as a guardian against nefarious influences. It is a fact that those who believe most implicitly in evil powers are the nicest in their choice of amulets, and do not entrust their persons to any but charms of material, construction, and type, approved and known to have stood the test of ages, rather than to many of the much vaunted novelties which hang in the shop windows—such, forsooth, are hardly powerful enough to protect a dandy's watch-chain!

To-day I wish merely to draw attention to a certain group of charms especially dedicated to the service of infants. Two of these, the *Sea-horse* or *Cavallo Marino* and the *Sirena*, are simple, and often carry pendant bells like the corals which protected our childhood; but the third type, the *Cimaruta* or *Sprig of Rue*, is a

compound charm—of some complexity—built up of parts which all add to the virtue of the charm.

By a compound charm is here meant one that has arisen from the blending together of originally separate amulets. Every single element of the *cimaruta* is known to exist separately and to function as a charm with properties more or less distinct from those of the other elements. Traces of such separate origin are still to be found in many *cimarute*, in which loops are attached to the individual elements. These loops are purposeless in the composite form, and can only be explained like the "rudimentary organs" or vestigial structures of living organisms, since they are derived from the functional loops of suspension of ancestral simple amulets.

Notwithstanding the varied proportions and positions of the component parts of the *cimaruta*, a certain uniformity of plan is always conspicuous, but in its modifications it is an excellent instance of the laws of evolution. The result of repeated copying has been that certain portions of some charms have undergone a gradual process of reduction, and this no doubt would have continued until the whole design had become absolutely conventional were it not for the fact that the efficacy of the charm would be impaired by too great a departure from the prototype. The requirements of technique and of decorative art have also played a part in the production of series of interesting variations. Rarely are private marks and badges introduced.

Typical *cimarute* measure about three inches long by two inches broad. At the present day they are invariably made of silver, but in ancient times other metals seem to have been employed, for the Etruscan amulet depicted by Mr. Elworthy (*Evil Eye*, Fig. 161) seems to have been a *cimaruta*, and is of bronze (Pl. XI). Nowadays the silver is so essential a part of the charm that the prudent purchaser will not take one unauthenticated by a hall-mark, and he

will sometimes look for the zigzag scratchings of the assayer as well. The Neapolitan mark is usually impressed either upon the stem or upon the loop of the charm.

Specimens of Neapolitan Silver-marks of the Eighteenth Century.



The wearer usually passes round his neck the light silver chain which is linked in the hole in the stem of the charm. The work may be executed in cast, carved, or hammered silver, but very inferior stamped specimens of modern manufacture are common, many being especially made for antiquity-hunters.

The branching framework of the charm is said to be a representation of the "sprig of rue," implied in the name *cima di ruta*. Upon the branches of this sprig are placed other emblems, as are the ornaments on a Christmas tree.

In a *cimaruta* of good workmanship we can recognise the following emblems :—(1) Rue, (2) Hand, (3) Moon, (4) Key, (5) Flower, (6) Horn or Fish, (7) Cock or Eagle ; occasionally (8) Heart in especially elaborate specimens, probably of later date, when other emblems, such as (9) Serpent, (10) Cornucopia, (11) Cherub, may also occur.

These emblems are added to the rue, much as the symbolic figures which we find in many Gnostic gems and medals are grouped around an eye (cf. Jahn, *Aberglauben des bösen Blicks*), and have been picked out for the purpose of increasing the efficacy of the charm.

I will now deal separately with the component elements of the cimaruta. And, first as to the sprig of rue.

1. Rue.

No one would connect these charms with the rue, were it not for their name, for they might represent most other branching structures with equal truth. However, on comparing some cimarute with rue-sprigs, with ripening fruits culled during the later months of the year, a certain analogy can be perceived.¹

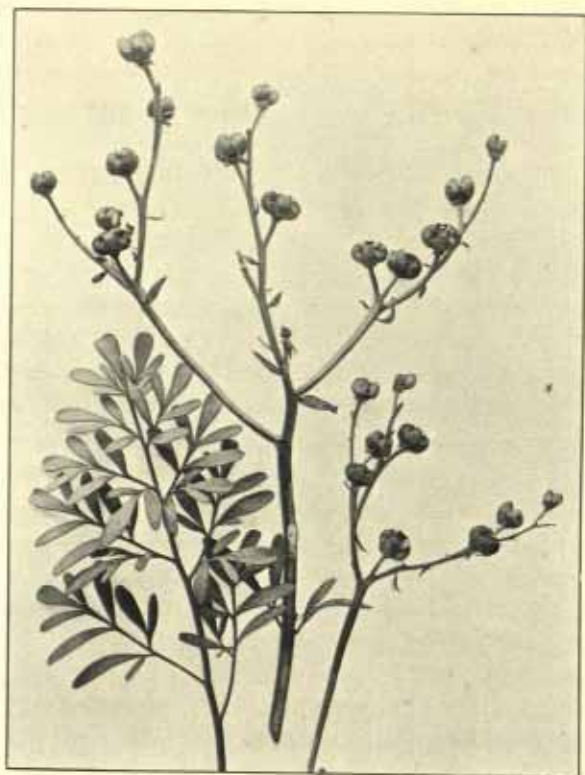
The stems of the rue bear alternate, petiolate and very much divided leaves (Pls. X. and XI.). The yellow flowers are disposed in corymbs at the summit of the branches; the calyx is persistent, and divided into four or five segments; the corolla consists of as many oval petals, and is longer than the calyx. The fruit-bearing sprays bear lanceolate bracts near the bases of the fruits. It would appear that the cimaruta was modelled rather from the fruiting spray than from any other part of the rue plant; for although in some of the type shown in Plate XV., Fig. 19, there are many small processes which presumably represent the lanceolate bracts borne upon the fruiting sprays, the leaves do not ever seem to be represented.

The following features may be recognized as common to both the fruiting spray of the rue and its imitation:

- (1) There are three main terminal branches.
- (2) The branching is alternate, and not opposite (like a trident).
- (3) There are swellings at the ends of all the branches.

If we select for comparison the least conventional of the cimarute, we shall be struck by other points of resemblance to the natural prototype. The knobs at the ends of the

¹ The species most frequently grown in our English gardens is *Ruta graveolens* L., which is common in Greece and Italy, and was probably the *ῥήγανον* of Dioscorides. *R. montana* and *R. chalepensis* are species of shrubby habit found in Greece.



SPRIGS OF RUE.

Photographed by Mr. A. H. Church from plants
grown in the Physick Garden at Oxford.

To face p. 136.

R. Ratahortensis.
Garden Rue.



RUE PLANT.

After Gerard's *Herbal*, 1597.



LUNARIA.

After a 13th Century
drawing.



ASSYRIAN AMULET.

After Lajard, *Culte
de Mithra*.



BOLOGNA AMULET.

After Elworthy, Fig. 161.

branches of the charm will be seen to be divided into segments, in very fair imitation of flower-buds or seed-pods copied by unscientific craftsmen. In this connection a comparison with the old engravings of the herbalists will prove instructive (*cf.* Gerard, *Herbal*, p. 12, Pl. XI.). On the whole, when we consider how easily a conventional design may depart from scientific truth when repeated by men who never saw the real thing in their lives, it is a matter for surprise rather than the reverse that there should be any trace at all of the rue-sprig in the conventional cimaruta.

Unmutilated silver cimarute representing the rue-sprig without extraneous emblems are rare at the present day; but a bronze amulet found at Bologna (Pl. XI.) is of this type, and, like the modern forms of the charm, the three main branches with twigs ending in small swellings are conspicuous.

Lest it should be thought that too much importance is attributed to the three-fold branching, which may be but an accidental arrangement, I must remind my readers that this branching has been considered by some to have a more recondite significance. Mr. Elworthy (*Evil Eye*, p. 348) observes that he "can come to no other conclusion than that the three branches are typical of *Diana triformis* or of her prototypes," but as the alternate character of the branching is true to nature, I hesitate to see the *diva triformis* in this triplicity.

We now pass to the consideration of the peculiar qualities of rue which have given rise to the use of silver images of it to counteract fascination.

Rue, or "herb of grace," has always had a widespread medicinal reputation. Eighty-four maladies were known to be treated by it in Pliny's day. Judges of Assizes no less than the contemporaries of Aristotle believed in its efficacy; a bunch of the herb sufficed to keep gaol-fever from the august bench; a tuft, worn as an amulet was thought to disarm the power of witchcraft. Even weasels,

wrote Pliny, protected their pelt with rue before hazarding themselves in combat with the serpent. At the present day in Khorasan they burn an allied odoriferous herb (*Peganum harmala*) to purify the air.¹

A very large proportion of the attributes of rue are shared by the class of plants which are associated with the Moon. The *Botrychium lunaria* (Moonwort),² *Artemisia* (Southernwood and Mugwort), and *Origanum dictamnus* (or Cretan Dittany) are all supposed to repel serpents, thus possessing the property ascribed to the Moon in the Vedic books. The plants of the Moon have all to a greater or less degree acquired some share in the characteristics of the Moon-deity, who has been regarded as having all waters and moisture in the world under general control, and as more particularly exercising an influence on the diseases of the mind, on the dew of early morn which refreshes all vegetation, the sap of plants on which their growth and multiplication depends, on child-birth and the health of women. And so plants which either by experience or by the doctrine of signatures or otherwise are believed to be cures for ailments directly related to the sphere of influence of the moon, are regarded as intimately connected with the deities who were thought to personate that luminary. The Moon-Daisy and other composite flowers have become consecrated to the goddess Lucina, who presided over the birth of children; and there is little doubt but that the Rue, although a nostrum of wider application, belonged to the same category; for in the fifth century B.C. it was described by Hippocrates as promoting the catamenia, and nearer our own time Boerhaave states that he employed it successfully in the treatment of several feminine complaints.³ It is therefore not surprising

¹ Aitchison, *Notes on the Products of W. Afghanistan*, p. 149.

² Our illustration of *Lunaria* (Pl. XI.) is from the 15th century Bodleian MS. Add. A. 23, f. 78.

³ In the 15th century botanical MS. in the Bodleian Library (MS. Selden

to find that in an ancient floral vocabulary Rue should be entered as the floral sign or emblem of the "Fecundity of Fields" (Dierbach, *Flora Mythologica der Griechen und Römer*).

Very many other virtues have at various times been ascribed to Rue, but these in my opinion have for the most part nothing whatever to do with the cimaruta as at present used in Southern Italy. Amongst other properties is its utility in cases of madness and nightmare,¹ and, according to the teaching of the Salerno School, it clears the sight as well as the perceptions of the mind. The association of the herb with the Sun and the constellation Leo, briefly alluded to by Culpeper² (*English Physitian Enlarged*, 1656, p. 324), has an astrological significance probably foreign to those associations with the Moon which are our more immediate concern.

The silver Rue-sprig, then, as the basis of the cimaruta is potent as the more or less realistic representation of the part of the rue-plant or the material curative agent concerned with fertility and child-birth. It represents the influence of the lunar deity, and although but rarely found as a simple amulet, it forms the foundation of a compound charm in which its virtues are enhanced by the addition of the emblems to be next described.

It will be noticed that the majority of the conjoined

35), known as the *Alphita*, we read "Ruta menstruus imperat comesta et bibita. Item ruta cuius triplex est materies, s. domestica et silvestris, cuius semen piganum dicitur; foliis et semine utimur." Compare also the earlier descriptions accompanying the excellent coloured illustration of rue in Bodl. MS. 130 f. 27 (circ. A.D. 1100). This MS. was written in England, perhaps in the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's, to which it belonged in the 14th century.

¹ An explanation is given by W. Coles, the Herbalist, in *Adam and Eve*, 1657, p. 45. He wrote: "I know not what religion Crollius was of: but he saith, that the signe of the Crosse which is upon the seed; or rather, as I suppose, the flower of Rue driveth away all Phantasms, and evill Spirits, by Signature."

² Gerard, too, affirms rue to be "hot and drie" (*Herbal*, 1597).

emblems have properties similar to those of the rue, and in examples of degenerate cimarute the rue may dwindle and be almost entirely replaced by the added emblems.

2. *Hand.*

Although hands clenched in varied attitudes are often worn as simple amulets, yet the *manofica*, or fist clenched with the thumb doubled under and projecting between the knuckles of the index and second fingers, is the only form met with in combination with the cimaruta; and I believe it to have been one of the first amulets added to the rue.

Mr. Elworthy has collected many instances from different times and countries which show that as a charm against the evil eye this clenched fist is operative chiefly on account of its being regarded as one of the most insulting gestures it is possible to make. The *manofica* is usually affixed to the very extremity of the cimaruta, where its rude strength may receive the full brunt of the attack of evil and speedily avert it. Mr. Elworthy regards the knobs at the tip of every twig of the rue spray as indicating this powerful emblem, but it seems more likely that they are, as we have already pointed out, simply the buds or fruits of the rue.

Clenched fists are extensively used in combination with one or more of the other amulets. We find it combined with the moon, with the key (Pl. XIV., Fig. 4. i.), and with a flower (Fig. 2. iii.), and the latter combination is the one which is used in the peculiar bodkins the Sorrentine women wear in their hair (p. 144).

As a simple talisman, a hand with extended first and fourth fingers occurs both by itself and in combination with the flower or other emblem, but not with the sprig of rue. It may be taken to possess the same properties as a pair of horns or a two-horned crescent.

3. *Moon.*

It is rare to find a *cimaruta* without the lunar emblem : it usually takes the form of a crescent, with a well-moulded face between the horns. The *jettatura* is baffled by the two-horned phase with greater certainty than by the more benign face of the full moon ; occasionally, however, representations of the full moon are included in the compound charm, and sometimes in addition to the crescent.

When the crescent is worn as a separate charm by human beings, a simple loop for suspension is fixed to the upper part and the charm is worn upright, with face looking forward ;¹ but the brass crescents of donkeys, horses, and other domestic animals are hung face downward, a position at once suited to the gait of the quadrupeds and identical with that of the crescents represented in statues of their divine protectress, Diana of the Ephesians. It follows naturally that the upright moon should be the one more frequently adopted on the *cimaruta*, and we find it to be so in most cases. The exceptions are generally when the crescent is represented in especial relation to some other emblem, such as the fist, which is then mounted between the horns of the crescent, like the familiar emblems on the face-plates of English cart-horses. It may be noted that, when in combination with the *cimaruta*, the loop for suspension of the crescent almost invariably survives as a small silver tag, which may or may not be perforated. The persistence of the loop is a clue to a very important fact concerning the origin of the combined charm, namely, that the crescent was at first a separate pendant amulet, probably of greater antiquity than the rue-sprig, and that it was hung with others on the rue-sprig like keys on a bunch.

An erroneous interpretation of this part of the charm has been given by Mr. Rolfe (*Naples in 1888*, p. 117), who has

¹ In ornate specimens a perforated crown takes the place of the simple loop.

been followed by Mr. Elworthy (*Evil Eye*, p. 345), in looking on the crescent moon as entwined by a serpent, one of whose coils forms the suspension-loop. Now, although I have carefully examined several cimarute of the type figured, including Mr. Rolfe's specimens, from which the drawing in question (Pl. XII.) is believed to have been prepared, I have not been able to detect the serpent nor to convince myself of the existence of anything but the thickened rim of the moon-emblem and of its loop for suspension.

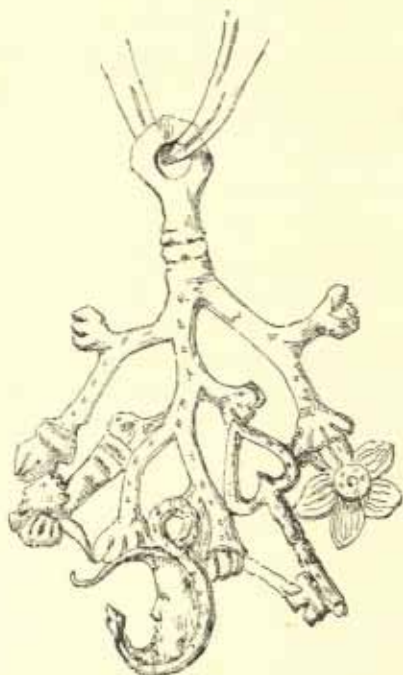
On first thoughts it would seem that the close association of antagonistic emblems (such as the moon and the serpent undoubtedly are), in one amulet, might detract from the power of the whole against evil, but that that view has not always been held is clear from the appearance of both serpent and lunar emblems in cimarute of a somewhat rare type, but even then they are not in close association.

In a particular series of charms (Figs. 12-15) we find that the lateral rue twigs have been curved and bent round so as to enclose the central portion of the charm in a manner that is very suggestive of the crescent emblem, and we are inclined to think that the silver-worker when executing these amulets was influenced by the idea of the horned moon being an essential part of the cimaruta.

Archæological evidence, I imagine, would show that the clenched fist and the crescent are the oldest of all the cimaruta emblems, and that the downcast form of crescent is more ancient than the upright form.

4. *Key.*

In most cimarute a key is placed near the moon. This emblem, like the crescent, can boast a considerable antiquity, for it was used as an amulet by the Etruscans, witness the finger-rings with tiny key-charms in the Bologna Museum (Elworthy).



CIMARUTA No. 238.

(From ROLFE, *Naples in 1888.*)

The rim and loop of suspension of the moon have been erroneously represented as a serpent, and the cordate shape of the handle of the key is too pronounced. More accurate drawings of the Cimarute of similar type are shown on Plate XVI.

The key of the cimaruta is now of the modern type. Its form seems to have been derived from that of the beautiful and ornate keys of the cinquecento. When keys are worn as simple amulets the bows are more elaborately worked than those of the keys in the cimarute; they may be wrought to the design of scrollwork, or be drilled with one, three, or four perforations; and in especially ornate examples I have seen the two-headed eagle (Pl. XIV.). Crossed keys, evidently suggested by the keys of St. Peter, are occasionally worn as a charm. When in combination with the cimaruta, the bow of the key is generally trefoil-shaped, but I cannot accept Mr. Elworthy's theory that the handle of the key was intended to symbolize a heart. He may have been misled by an illustration (Pl. XII.) in which the artist has drawn this part more like a heart than the original warranted, for there is no more reason to think a heart was intended than that Diana Triformis was especially symbolized by the trilobed perforation of the bow. The shape is only the outcome of a striving after beauty of form.

Whether or not the key is a "conventionalized representation of the *crux ansata*" (Elworthy, p. 353), which was used as a charm in ancient Egypt and in modern Cyprus, I am unable to say; but there is no doubt that the key was the proper attribute of Jana,¹ the form in which Diana opened and closed the gates of night, and thus finds an appropriate place with the rue² and the crescent. Mr. Rolfe has also drawn attention to the so-called key which was found in the hand of Isis, discovered at Pompeii; but is it not possible that this may really have been a *sistrum*, or some other object, which was the real prototype of the "key" of the cimaruta?

¹ Mr. Elworthy points out that the Neapolitan word for witch is *janara*.

² In this connection it will be remembered that certain moon-plants, such as the Moonwort Fern (*Botrychium lunaria*), like the Mistletoe and the Artemisia, are, like the *Schlüssel-blume* (or Primrose), plants which have the power of opening locks.

5. Flower.

The flowers which occur in cimarute fall into two groups: firstly, there are the flowers with few (four or five) petals, which recall the flowers of the rue (Figs. 19, 23); and, secondly, there are the flowers which have more numerous petals, which we shall term moon-flowers (Figs. 24, 27a).

The rue-flowers are sometimes represented as growing naturally at the ends of the twigs, and each is then formed from a separate sheet of silver, beaten into the shape of a bell and fixed to the twig (similarly the knobs in which the branches end may be considered as the flower buds or seed capsules of the rue), but often the workman by moulding the cimaruta from one piece of silver has displayed the flower flatly, so that it presents the appearance of having been clumsily stuck on by one petal (Plate XVI., Fig. 23D).

The flowers are sometimes independent of the sprig, and are then supported by one of the other constituents of the charm. A common example of this is the flower held in the clenched fist, a combination often to be met with as a separate amulet. This charm is seen in its greatest perfection in the silver *spadini* worn by Sorrentine women in their hair. The flowers have four petals.¹ There is no absolute proof that these bodkin-flowers are related to the flowers on the cimaruta; there may be cruciferous flowers which resembled the periwinkle or *violette des sorciers*, in that they may once have been used in the manufacture of amulets. But, bearing in mind the fact that this particular type of charm is especially worn by women, a more probable explanation is that the flower is either beneficial to the fair sex or else is the emblem of something that

¹ One specimen examined had evidently been slightly damaged, and so, apparently with the intention of concealing the injury, the silversmith had bent and engraved the four petals so that the mutilated one might form the head of a bird, the three undamaged petals forming the wings outstretched and the tail (Fig. 2. iii.). For a photograph of an entire *spadino*, see *Italian Jewellery collected by Signor Castellani*, Pl. 10, published by the Arundel Society, 1868.

is. Now the orange-blossom plays so important a part in marriage customs, and at the same time is so closely related to the Rue (for both are of the same tribe *Rutales*) and is also so frequently found with four petals only, that I have no hesitation in associating the *spadino* flowers with the orange-blossom.

Sometimes flowers are carried by birds in their beaks, and are then more difficult to identify; and their presence as part of a charm against the evil eye is not easy of explanation, except in the belief of the ancients that birds are endowed with a marvellous knowledge of the medicinal properties of herbs. Hawks and eagles, to become far-sighted, plucked hawkweed and wild lettuce respectively; pigeons and doves used vervain or pigeon's-grass, to counteract any dimness of sight which might prevent them from seeing their enemy, the hawk. So in these charms we may regard the flower as a contribution of the bird's to the general efficiency of the whole, or else as a private possession to increase his own power against the malign power of the evil eye.

The many-petalled flower is not common. In some cimarute in which I have found it, its stalk is pierced for suspension, and thereby we may recognize it as an amulet of originally independent existence. I believe that amulets of this type are intended to represent certain composite flowers, which perhaps, on account of their likeness to the full moon, were dedicated to Artemis or her equivalent. We are informed that the Moon Daisy (*Chrysanthemum leucanthemum*), the flower of Eileithueia, or the Greek Juno Lucina, was used for uterine diseases. When the duties of the moon-goddess were transferred to St. Mary Magdalene and to St. Margaret of Cortona, the Moon-daisy became known as Maudelyn or Maudlinwort, just as the Marguerite Daisy, another flower of Artemis, was assigned to St. Margaret of Cortona. And there is some ground for putting into the same category Costmary or Maudlin

(*Balsamita vulgaris*), the Maghet, Maids or May-weed (*Pyrethrum parthenium*), the Sweet Maudlin or *Herba divae Mariae* (*Achillea ageratum*), the Mather or Mayd-weed (*Anthemis cotula*), and the *Achillea matricaria*—all of which plants, bearing flowers with white ray florets, were thought to resemble the moon, and to have acquired from her, by the doctrine of signatures, a certain efficacy in the treatment of feminine complaints.

Notwithstanding the differences in the cimaruta flowers Mr. Elworthy assumes that all indiscriminately "must be intended for the lotus, the symbol of Isis" (*Evil Eye*, p. 355). There seems but doubtful foundation for this assumption, as no such special virtues as those of the moon-flowers have been attributed to the lotus,¹ which was the sacred emblem of the sun, the symbol of Osiris, and typified purification and regeneration.²

And if, as I think, it is possible to explain the presence of these flowers as integral parts of the cimaruta, as being emblematic either of the healing powers of the rue itself, or of the virtues associated with other flowers sacred to the moon, it certainly does not appear necessary to adopt a theory which adds to the complexity and heterogeneity of the charm at the expense of simplicity and uniformity.

6. Horn, Sword, Dagger, etc.

In many cases a clenched fist may be seen grasping some object, not a flower, which is generally so indistinct that it has been variously explained as a horn, a sword, a dagger, or a fish, or as some other longish object, or taken merely as a bar of silver bridging the gap between two

¹ The Egyptian Lotus is a *Nymphaea*.

² An uncontrolled recognition of the lotus can sometimes proceed too far, as appears from Mr. Goodyear's *Grammar of the Lotus* (1891), in which there is a tendency to substitute that flower as the sole origin of all ancient decorations, including the Ionic volutes!

emblems to strengthen the whole. No doubt the meaning of this charm would vary with the exact nature of the object held in the fist, but inasmuch as the execution of this part of the cimaruta is very defective, we can gain no satisfactory knowledge of what the prototypes may have been.

I have never been able to unhesitatingly recognize the fish in combination with the rue-sprig, although it is well known as a separate amulet. I cannot therefore include it in our list of symbols, for although Mr. Elworthy (*Evil Eye*, p. 355) mentions it, he does not give an illustration of it. Horns as amulets *contro al fascino* (Jorio) are of so great an antiquity and so widely distributed that it would be a matter for surprise that they have not been invariably added to strengthen the collection of cimaruta emblems, were it not that for a long period the elements in the combination were chosen simply for their efficacy in matters relating to childbirth, and that the moon-goddess in this capacity was sufficiently represented by the crescent.

7. Cock.

Occasionally in cimarute of elaborate design one or two birds are added to the other emblems; one is usually represented in profile and sometimes with a flower in its beak, the other is represented as seen from above and with wings expanded as if in full flight. The former bird is clearly distinguished as a cock by his comb, the latter has been identified as an eagle, but I would submit that it is intended for a cock *volant*. It is certainly not an owl (Figs. 22, 25A, 46).

Three separate theories may account for their presence. Both cock and eagle can be considered as able to overpower the evil eye by the power of their own eyes; the one is noted for its extreme vigilance, the other for its piercing sight. The explanation which has been given of the flower in the beak

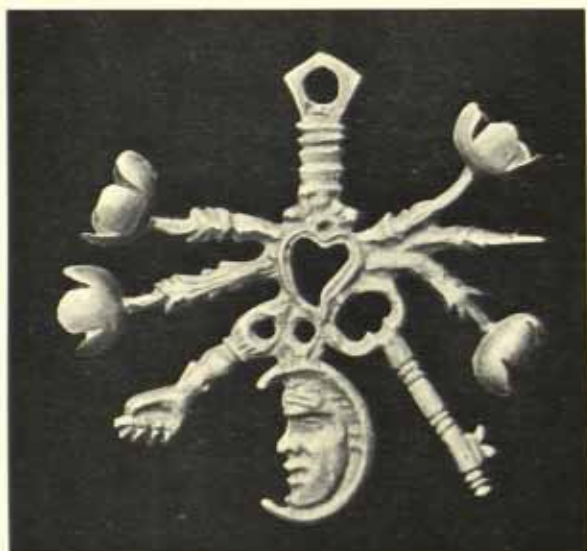
of the cock (p. 145) is in accordance with this view. The second explanation would introduce a new idea into our conception of the cimaruta, viz., that these birds are the emblems of the sun-god, to whom both cock and eagle were held sacred, and that they thus contributed to the power of the charm to resist the evil eye. In Lycia both birds were sun-emblems, and were associated with the *triscèle*. But the third idea harmonizes more nearly with the lunar associations of the charm. The cock, as Herr E. Baethgen has shown (*De vi ac significatione Galli*, 1887), was associated with Diana as well as with Proserpine, Æsculapius, and other divinities—an association which is still preserved in two hair-pins I purchased in Fiume. In one, the cock is modelled in a sitting position above the head of a female figure, supposed to be Diana; in the other, the bird is represented with a crescent, a fist and a bunch of some herb. Occasionally the cock is represented by its head (Fig. 16) or merely by its comb (Figs. 17, 22), thus affording an excellent example of the gradual degeneration and disappearance of an amulet. The resemblance between the knuckles of a fist and a cock's comb is suggestive.

8. *Heart.*

The Heart, as one of the component emblems of the cimaruta, seems to me, all things considered, to be of late introduction. It is not certain that it was employed as an emblem by the Greeks or Romans when the cimaruta is believed to have had its beginning, it is not of frequent occurrence in the charms, it is not present in many of the most typical nor most elaborate; and where we come upon the heart-emblem most highly developed, there the *rue* is degenerate, and tends to be superseded by the newer element.

Let me repeat at the outset that the theory that the bow of the key was originally intended to represent a

PLATE XIII.



CIMARUTA.

A flower has fallen from the middle branch on the left.
This specimen is described on p. 161 as No. 45.

To face p. 149.

heart cannot be accepted: such an interpretation of the emblem is an attempt to find by force as many different emblems as possible in the *cimaruta*.

In charms of various types, hearts do, however, make their appearance as distinct emblems. One or two hearts are to be seen suspended from a branch of the rue sprig (Fig. 27) or sometimes held by a fist grasping it by the large blood-vessels, which are sometimes very clearly modelled (Fig. 28).

In charms of another type (No. 45, Plate XIII.) we find the heart in the correct position anatomically, in the centre of the group of emblems which constitute the entire charm. The heart may form the centre of a degenerate rue sprig and in extreme cases (Pl. XIII.) may entirely take its place, becoming the nucleus around which the other emblems are attached. In the latter case we find a tiny perforation or hole above the heart, which, like the hole in the tag above the moon, is a survival of an original loop for suspension.

In Naples hearts made of bone, coral, silver, gold, or other material are commonly worn as simple amulets. In their modelling the main blood-vessels are occasionally indicated; but more frequently by a curious alteration of the design the blood-vessels are represented as flames, such as those seen rising from the Sacred Heart venerated by Roman Catholics. But from the hearts in the *cimaruta* flames are never found issuing, blood-vessels not unfrequently.

9. *Serpent.*

The serpent emblem as an integral part of the *cimaruta* is of exceptional occurrence, perhaps for the reason already adduced; namely, that the moon is its bane, and that in consequence their presence side by side did not make for the potency of the charm. Still, when as in the very ornate specimen in the Empire style figured in Plate XVII.,

29, we find both moon and serpent combined in the same amulet, we can only assume that the work was executed by a generation of workmen ignorant of the antagonism between the separate emblems.

There have been many traditions woven around the serpent. In his Sanskrit names *drig visha* or *drishti visha* (= "having poison in the eye") we have indications of his supposed power of killing at a glance, and in the Greek name *ὄφης*, of supernatural vision. These attributes would make him an argus-eyed antagonist, and one to deal death to the powers exercising fascination.

I am strongly of the opinion that there is a close relation between the inclusion of the emblem of the healing art among the cimaruta emblems and its presence in certain early illustrations of medicinal herbs. Several of the plants depicted in the *Herbarium Apuleii Platonica*, printed in Rome soon after 1480,¹ are represented as being closely connected with serpents, scorpions, and other animals, which for the most part are the venomous animals against whose bites or stings the herbs were useful.² The serpent of the cimaruta may therefore in one sense be regarded as akin to a shop sign, like the red serpentine stripe on the barber's pole,³ meaning that the charm, like the barber, is efficacious even in the case of serpent-bite.

It is well known that Isis as the sign of her profession of a lady-doctor wore an asp crown, but, on the other hand, in an Egyptian wall painting, she is piercing the serpent through the head, reminding us of the original enmity between its seed and the woman.

I have not been able to trace any oriental or classical

¹ J. F. Payne, *On the Herbarius*. (*Trans. Bibliogr. Soc.*, vi.).

² A similar tendency is exhibited in the coloured drawings of Verbena and the serpents in the 12th century Bodleian Herbal cited *supra*, p. 138, n. 3; and also in many 15th century Italian MSS., of which Canon. Misc. 408 and 500, and Bodl. MS. Add. A. 23 in the Bodleian Library, are examples.

³ The survival of the serpent-entwined staff of Aesculapius.

parallel to the Teutonic belief that household serpents or *Unken* are not only friendly to solitary children and drink milk with them, but that their lives are closely related to one another, so that if the snake be killed the child wastes away (Grimm and Simrock).

However, in view of the fact that the serpent appears to be of late introduction into the combined charm, I doubt whether it is worth discussing further as to whether its virtues are as good as the Ophites would have us believe, or its properties those of the basilisk.

10. *Cornucopia.* 11. *Cherub.*

Other emblems appear in isolated cases, seemingly added in accordance with the fancy of maker or wearer or perhaps occasionally as erroneous interpretations of some obscure portion of the *cimaruta* from which the copy has been taken. Among such we find the cornucopia, indicative of plenty and good luck, and bunches of grapes (Elw. Fig. 81), which probably have a similar meaning. The *cimaruta* shown in Fig. 28 has a cherub added to the other emblems. Their occurrence is so exceptional that I do not feel justified in accepting any explanation for their presence; for while they may on the one hand be regarded merely as elaborate birds, yet I feel certain that those who see Diana, the moon-goddess, in everything will compare them with the Egyptian winged Isis or with the bird-woman Hathor—and thus as being related to the Sirens.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

In attempts to reconstruct the history of the *cimaruta* and to attribute due significance to its elements, it is but too easy to go wide of the truth by the adoption of one theory to the exclusion of all others. Many students will

only give heed to the emblems of the sun-god or to those of Aesculapius, but it is the votaries of the moon-goddess who will perhaps find most in support of their presumption. Others, bent on finding relics of phallic worship, will so interpret more emblems than the occasion demands.

All my searches in museums for links between the cimaruta and the phallic amulets which were so common in Roman times, have led us to the conclusion that the cimaruta is not, as has sometimes been suggested, a descendant of any of them, but is essentially of separate origin. But, no doubt owing to the universality with which such amulets were worn, certain phallic elements were used at an early period to strengthen the rue charm, and they may have been inherited from the cult of Isis at Pompeii. In most cimarute the phallus is represented in the form of the hand or the horn.

Perhaps the charm had a material origin in an ancient practice of holding in the hand a sprig of rue culled from the plant, and later a dried sprig may have been attached by a mount to a chain or ribbon worn round the neck. Its efficacy is recorded by Aristotle, and the application of a herb at child-birth is quite in accordance with the old Persian lore concerning the seven fruits that charm away evil influence at parturition, and to which the fatal seven Hathors turn. The change from the *materia medica* itself to its symbolic representation in a more durable material is a very familiar one, and in the present case was possibly suggested by other arborescent amulets of quite another derivation, like the one engraved upon a green Assyrian cylinder now in the Hague Museum, and figured by Lajard in his *Culte de Mithra* (Plate 27, Fig. 7). The amulet, which is represented near a crescent moon, is like a three-branched spray of olive, and is to be interpreted as a local representation of the cosmic tree (Pl. XI.).

The earliest cimarute, in short, may have been inspired by emblems of a tree-cult and have thus acquired other

properties than those inherited from a medicinal herb, and may betoken the local acceptance of a world-wide myth, which some might perceive in the fable repeated by Pliny of the amicable relation between the fig (one form of the world-tree) and the rue.

Furthermore, the established practice of associating objects of various kinds with trees may suggestively account for the presence of the additional emblems on the cimaruta. But it should not be assumed that the individual emblems of the cimarute have necessarily been associated with the world tree. Among these are the winged genii of the Assyrian Cosmic Tree, the eagle and hawk of the Scandinavian Ash, Yggdrasil, the eagle on the Iranian World-Tree, and the serpent.

From its erstwhile broader significance the rue as we have seen shrank to be the special protection of women in child-birth, and the emblems naturally added to it were those of the lunar goddess, the tutelary deity of maternity; and the charm was made of her metal. The silver crescent and the moon-flower were no doubt soon followed by the key and by the cock, which, as Herr E. Baethgen has shown, was closely associated with Diana, an association which is still indicated by the two hair-pins purchased recently in Fiume, and referred to *supra*, p. 148.

There is no reason for believing the serpent to have been an original element in the compound charm, for although when worn by itself it might have been supposed to have intimidated the evil eye by its poisonous glance, or to have been a beneficial symbol, like the asp from the Isiac crown or the Aesculapian snake, yet the construction of cimarute seems to indicate that the traditional enmity put between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent had not been forgotten. And there are few more widely-spread beliefs than that in the toxic influence of the moon.

What cannot fail to impress the student in the investi-

gation of this device, the cimaruta, is not so much the inclusion of this or the other emblem, as the general conformity to the type, and the almost entire absence from the combination, of amulets which we might have expected to find there. For instance, the horn, so universal in South Italy, is not common. Perhaps so pointed a weapon was too dangerous to be put into the hands of infants. The frog or toad emblem (Pl. XIV., o) we might also have expected to see included, for the frog-and-crescent charm, made of silver, is not unfrequently to be met with; and that it has been handed down from antiquity, bronze amulet-frogs found at Pompeii attest. Its absence may be explained by the fact that, as the frog had no connection with Diana Lucina, there was no reason for combining it with the cimaruta, and lack of original motive may unconsciously have been operative through the ages.

A similar explanation might be offered for the most remarkable fact of all, namely, for the almost entire absence of the Christian element from the cimaruta. The antagonism between amulets which have remained pagan and those which have been adopted as Christian has not yet been allayed. The only exceptions known to me are three in number, viz. a small cimaruta (Fig. 15), in which the cross appears, and two varieties of the crescent amulet, one of which has been inscribed JESUS MARIA,¹ and the other, upon which some possessor has scratched a little figure of St. Januarius (Pl. XIV.).

We have shown how the potency of the rue and of the emblems of the moon-goddess as amulets against the powers of evil was increased by emblems having no direct connection with her; prominent among these are those which are now universally considered insulting, but which doubtless had originally another meaning.

It is just this change in the exact significance of iden-

¹ Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, Fig. 152.

tical emblems and symbols which we find in different countries and in different times, that renders the study of charms at once so difficult and so fascinating. The crescentic face-plates on our dray-horses are now merely a smart ornament, the treasured belongings of the carters, who take a pride in keeping them brightly burnished, and transfer them from horse to horse; but in Southern Italy essentially similar pendant charms avert the Evil Eye, keep beasts from stumbling, and must be hanging on the animals when they are blessed by the priest on the day of St. Anthony (January 17th). Two thousand years previously the Campanian peasant would have seen in them the symbol of Diana, protectress of animals, earlier still the Egyptian would have perceived the emblem of Isis.

Lastly, let me remark that I am unaware of any reference to the *cimaruta* before 1888. It may seem extraordinary that a charm so much worn in Naples should have escaped the attention of the earlier writers on Neapolitan manners and customs, but it must always be borne in mind that the wearers are nowadays, and probably always were, principally to be found among the lower classes, and, consequently, the unobservant of the upper class have either failed to notice it altogether or have considered it beneath their attention. Indeed, persons of some pretence to antiquarian reputation have denied the existence of these charms or have hinted that they are only *roba Americana*, made to be sold to tourists and curio-hunters.

It is to Mr. Neville Rolfe, the first to write on the matter, that I am much indebted, as the many references to his unique collection will show. Acknowledgements are also due to Mr. H. M. Bower, to my friend Mr. Whitnall, and to others who have allowed me to examine the amulets in their possession.

R. T. GÜNTHER.

APPENDIX.

TABLE OF AMULETS CONNECTED WITH THE CIMARUTA.
(See Plates XIV.-XVII.)

I have found it necessary to devise a simple method of representing the differences between individual cimarute. The following table will I hope be found helpful in the description not only of the charms at present under consideration but also of such other objects, like the *mano pantea* and the Barone lamps, which are composed of varying elements.

The composition of the cimaruta is represented by a constitutional formula in which the emblems are represented in order from left to right by their initial letters, and a series of brackets is employed to indicate mutual relationship of parts.

The following examples will make this clear.

Fig. 2 iii. (Plate XIV.) is represented as H (F).

(A Hand holding a Flower.)

R₃ (H—M—H—K—H).

Rue sprig with 3 branches supporting in order from left to right a Hand—Moon—Hand—Key—Hand.

R₃ (H (F) K. bM Cock b Cock (F) b. b).

In this charm one Flower is held in a Hand and a second by a Cock. A second Cock is supported by the Moon. The two points divide the symbols into the three groups borne on the branches of the rue.

A dotted symbol, thus, \dot{M} , signifies that the loop for suspension is present.

SIMPLE AMULETS.

Elements of usual occurrence.

1. Rue. Symbol R.

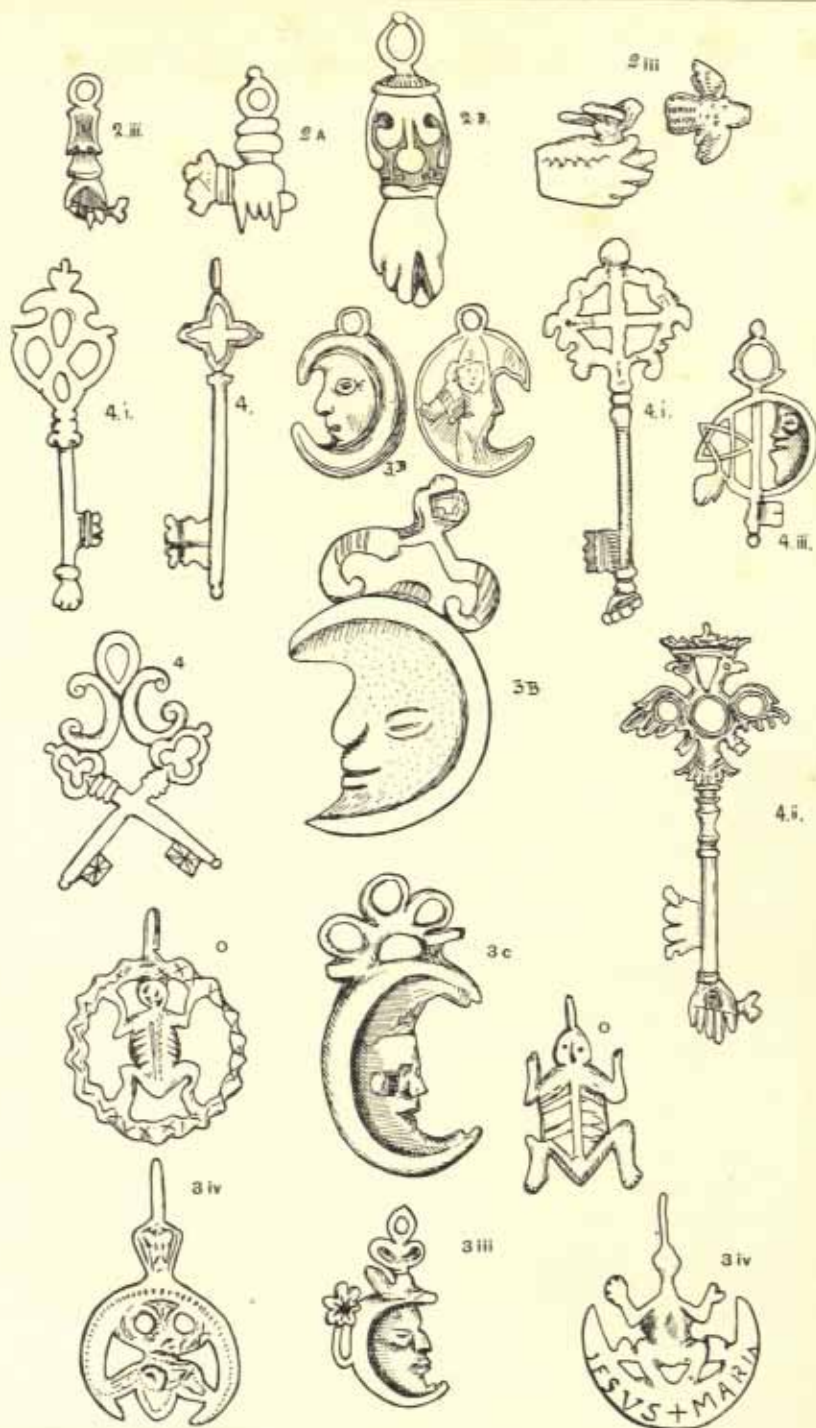
2. Hand. H.

a. Mano cornuta.

b. Mano fica.

c. Mano pantea.

The hand is also occasionally found in other positions, but the *mano fica* position is the only one which occurs in *cimarute*.



SIMPLE AND COMPOUND AMULETS.

To face p. 156.

3. Moon. M.
 - a. Downcast crescent.
 - b. Upright increscent.
 - c. Upright decrescent.
 - d. Full.
4. Key. K.
 - a. Bow simple.
 - b. Bow ornate.
5. Flower. F.
 - a. Few-petalled Rue or Orange blossom.
 - b. Many-petalled Moon flower.

Elements of rare occurrence.

6. Horn. †

Although common as a simple amulet the horn is rarely found in combination unless held in a hand.
7. Cock (or Eagle ?)
 - a. Side view of entire bird.
 - b. Head.
 - c. Comb.

Elements believed to be of comparatively late introduction.

8. Heart. C.
9. Snake.
10. Cornucopias, and } occasionally appear: also the
11. Winged boys } Pentacle.

COMPOUND AMULETS.

2. i. H (M) Hand holding moon Hairpin in authors' collection.
 - ii. H (K) " " key Elworthy, Fig. 112.
 - iii. H (F) " " flower Sorrentine bodkins and amulets.
 - iv. H (†) " " horn or dagger.
- A twisted horn appears as a prolongation of the little finger in a common donkey-charm. Author's Coll.
3. i. M (H) Moon enclosing hand.
 - ii. M (Cock) " " cock. { Only known in combination with the cimaruta.

- iii. M (F) Moon with flower. Rolfe Coll.
 The moon amulet is not unfrequently united with the frog,
 PL. XIV. figs. 3. iv. Rolfe Coll.
4. i. K (H) Key ending in a hand.
 ii. K (H (F)) Key ending in a hand holding a flower.
 iii. K (M + P + H) Key with moon, pentacle and hand.
 Rolfe Coll.
8. i. C + Heart ending in a horn. A small iron charm.
 Author's Coll.

COMPOUND AMULETS (CIMARUTE).

A sprig of rue forms the basis of the amulet.

I. With a hand, but without moon and key together.

i. Simple forms.

10. R (bbb. H. b). Author's Coll.
 11. R (| bb. H H b). Author's Coll.
 12. R (bb. H. b). Author's Coll.
 13. R (bb |. H. bb). Elw., Fig. 81, Author's Coll.
 14. R (b |. H. bb).
 15. Cross (M H).
 { These two amulets are similar, but the
 { rue in 15 has been treated conventionally
 { and has been transformed into a cross and
 { a crescent.

ii. With the cock substituted for one of the rue-buds.

16. R (b. Cock's head. H. b). Rolfe Coll.
 17. R (b. Cock's comb. H (F). b). Rolfe Coll.

In this specimen the lateral buds are markedly tripartite,
 like the trisula in shape.

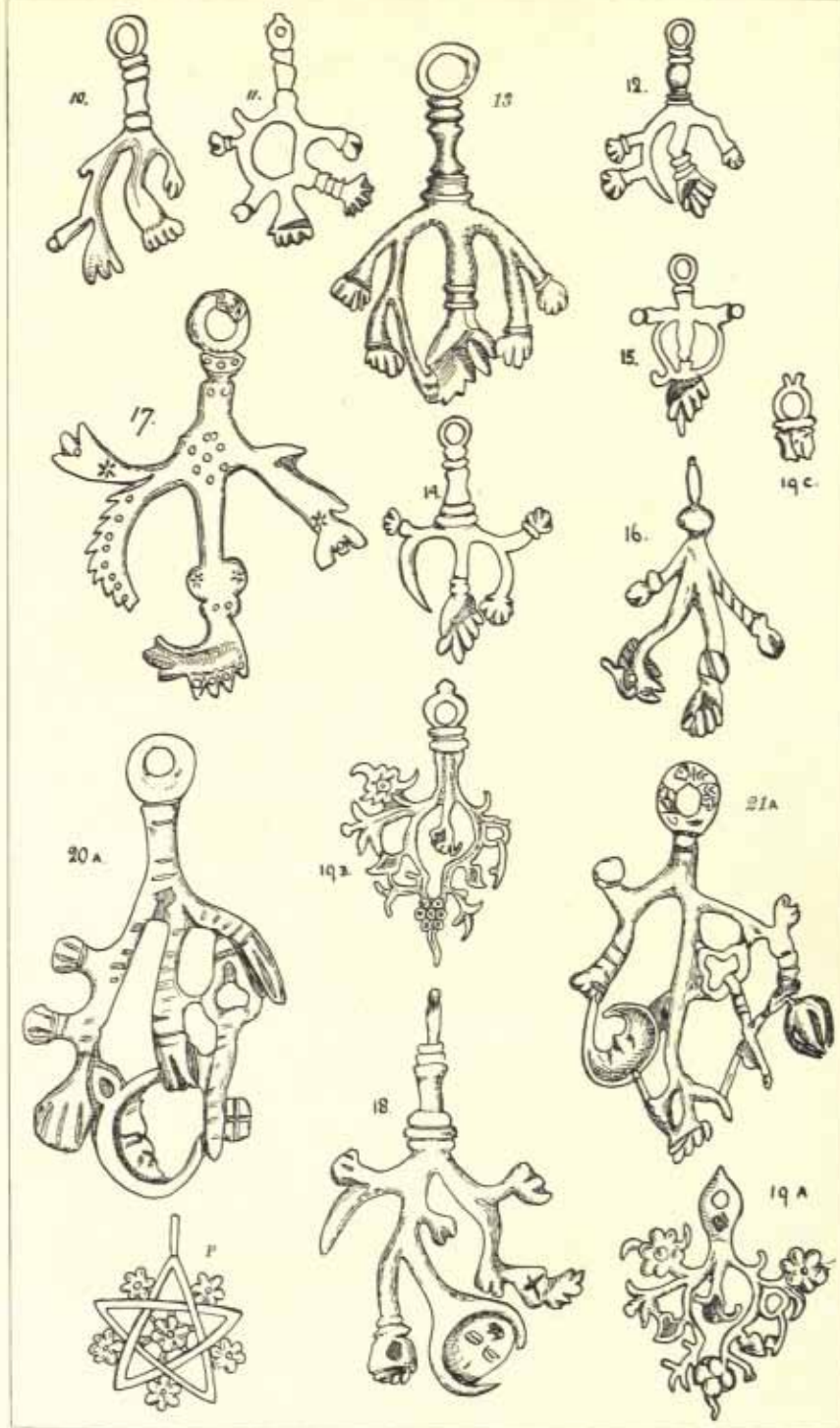
iii. With the moon.

18. R (b |. H M b. b H b). Rolfe Coll.

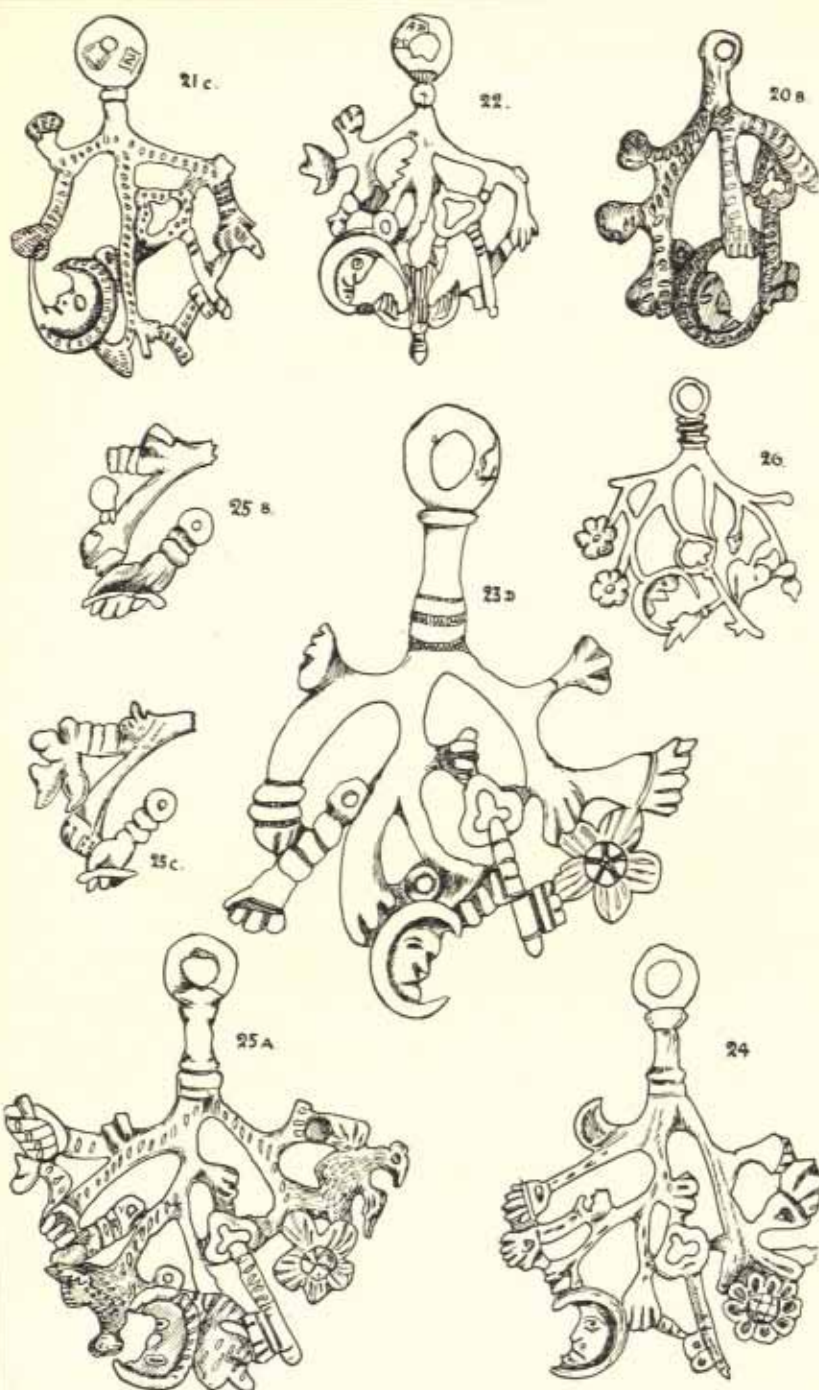
iv. With the Key.

19. R (1F1b1c111 F. H (+). 111c K1F1). Rolfe and
 Author's Colls.

Design light, elegant and symmetrical, with numerous
 filiform leaves (l) which simulate small horns. The hand with
 the horn, the sole emblem on the middle branch, is situated
 almost exactly in the centre of an equilateral triangle, the angles
 of which are formed by the three 4-6-petalled flowers. Two
 heart-shaped leaves (CC) are borne laterally.



COMPOUND AMULETS (CIMARUTE).



CIMARUTE (TYPICAL SERIES).

I believe this design to be of recent date. It is not uncommon.

Similar flowers (six petalled) are associated with the pentacle (Pl. XV. Fig. P.), Bower Coll., and with cimaruta No. 26.

II. Rue with three branches ; moon and key present.

(a.) Typical Series.

Under this head are grouped the most typical cimarute. Other emblems may be added in varying combinations and positions, but generally they occupy the spaces between two branches and are often fixed by bars of silver.

20. R (bbb \dot{M} . H . \dot{K} b). Rolfe Coll.

The hand does not reach the periphery of the charm and is but feebly differentiated from a bud. Moon decrecent. In some specimens the buds are more phallic than in others. Hall mark $\frac{N}{8}$.

- 21a. R (bb \dot{M} . b H \dagger . \dot{K} F b). Rolfe Coll.

Flower of sheet metal, soldered on. Moon increscent.

- 21b. R (b H \dot{M} . b H \dagger . \dot{K} H b). Author's Coll.

- 21c. R (bb \dot{M} . b H \dagger . \dot{K} bb). Rolfe Coll.

Both of similar design to the last. The b H \dagger at the end of the middle branch might easily become transformed into the moon enveloping the hand which appears in Nos. 38 and 40.

22. R (b F H Cock's comb \dot{M} . Cock . \dot{K} bb)

Silver Mark $\frac{NAP}{78-}$ (date 1780-9). Author's Coll.

The saw-like structure is not easily identified as the comb of the cock, but there can be little doubt about it for it occupies the same relative position as the cock in Nos. 16, 17, 25.

- 23a. R (bb \dot{H} . b \dot{M} b \dot{K} b . b F b). Whitnall Coll.

- 23b. R (bb \dot{H} . b \dot{M} b \dot{K} b . F bb). Rolfe and Elw., Fig. 81.

See Pl. XII. Whitnall Coll.

- 23c. R (bb \dot{H} . b \dot{M} b \dot{K} b . b H b). Author's Coll.

- 23d. R (bb \dot{H} . b \dot{M} b \dot{K} b . b FHb). Rolfe Coll.

24. R (b H \dot{H} . b M b \dot{K} b . F H b) Miss Wright.

The knuckles of the hands bear a strong resemblance to cocks' combs. Moon increscent. Flower a Moon-daisy.

* The cock might be interpreted as an Eagle by some authorities.

- 25a. R (b H (cc) b H̄ (h) Cock. b M̄ b C K̄ b. b F Cock b).

In this type we meet the cimaruta at the zenith of its development. The two cocks are clearly distinguished by their combs. The one to the left is represented as flying, the other as sitting. The heart (upside down) has, I believe, been derived from the hand and thumb in the corresponding position in No. 21.

Variations in the structure of the elements to the left of the charm are shown in 25b and 25c. Rolfe, and Author's Coll.

- (b.) Series exhibiting variations from the type and a tendency towards the introduction of new emblems.

26. R (b F F M h K. b C c b). Bower Coll.

A charming and rare two-branched design.

- 27a. R (C C. K H. b M F). Rolfe Coll.

- 27b. R (b C. K H (h) b. b M H). Miss Ingleby Coll.

28. R (b C. K F Winged boy. M H). Rolfe Coll.

29. R (l K M m H M K l). Rolfe Coll.

The entire design has been remodelled in accordance with the conventions of the art of the Empire. The middle branch of the rue spray, has been represented as a serpent. One of the moons is represented as being nearly full. *m* in the formula may represent a small crescent or a flower seen in side-view. The key on the right ends in a flower.

A less elaborate form is depicted by Elworthy, Fig. 81, but his photograph is indistinct.

30. R (l k m H M l).

31. is a degenerate form which probably dates from the same period, but the details are almost impossible to unravel. A flower on a key-handle, a bunch of grapes, and a hand may perhaps be recognized. Elw., Fig. 81, and Author's Coll.

- (c.) Series showing degeneration as the result of spaces between the branches being left solid: disappearance of rue by hypertrophy.

32. R (b M H K b F). Rolfe Coll.

33. R (b M b K bb). Rolfe Coll.

34. R (b M K F). Author's Coll.

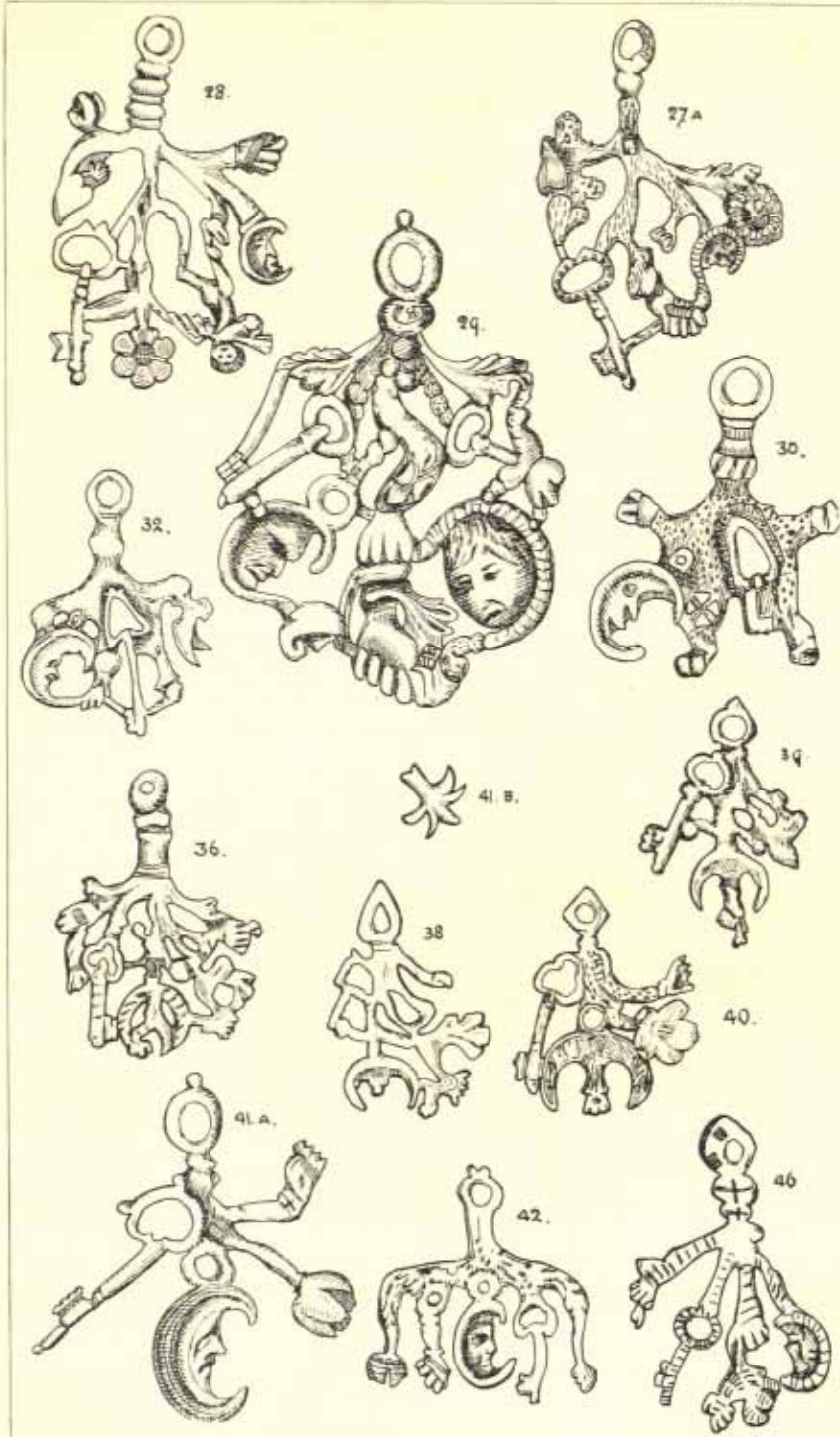
In this amulet the separate parts are almost quite unrecognizable.

- (d.) Series exhibiting gradual disappearance of the rue by atrophy.

i. With Moon face downward.

35. R (H (F) K. b M (Cock) b Cock (F) b. b).

Author's Coll.



CIMARUTE (ABERRANT AND DEGENERATE FORMS).

To face p. 160.

36. R (H (F) K . b M (Cock) b Cock (F) H (F) . b).
Rolfé Coll.

37. R (b M [H (F)] . M [H (F)] . Cock (F) H (F)).
Bower Coll.

A very unusual type of charm. The flowers are represented as held by four of the emblems and the combination of the crescent enclosing the hand bearing a flower occurs twice.

38. R (K . b M (H) b Cock (F) b . b). Rolfé Coll.

39. R (K . b M [H (F)] b F . b). Rolfé Coll.

40. R (K Ṁ (H) F H). Elw., Fig. 81, and Author's Coll.

The rue-buds have entirely disappeared, and the typical branching is no longer recognizable.

ii. With moon upright, face forward.

The rue branching is not recognizable. The arrangement of the emblems tends to become either radial or gridiron-like.

α Moon decrescant.

41. (K M F H).

Two forms of the flower have been noticed to occur in this amulet: (*α*) like those of Fig. 40, made of sheet silver. Rolfé Coll.

(*β*) cast in one piece with the amulet. Author's Coll.

42. (F Ḣ Ṁ K̇ F). Author's Coll.

β Moon increscant.

43. (F Ḣ Ṁ K̇ F). Mrs. Vernon.

44. (F F H M K F F F). Elworthy, Fig. 81.

45. C (F F Ḣ Ṁ K̇ F F F). Author's Coll.

In this fine example a heart has been cut in the centre of the amulet, the other emblems being grouped radially around it. (Pl. XIII.).

46. (H (F) K Cock M). Author's Coll.

A common modern form, usually of poor workmanship, in which the various emblems are represented as hanging by separate bands or chains.

R. T. G.

FOLK-LORE OF THE WYE VALLEY.

BY MARGARET EYRE.

(*Read at Meeting, 7th December, 1904.*)

THE present is the second instalment of folk-lore collected in this district which I have had the honour of reading before a meeting of the Folk-Lore Society, and it does not by any means exhaust the matter gathered in the course of much rambling about the country-side during the last few years.¹

I cannot give the names of my informants, for I do not know most of them. My stories were often told by chance-met folk crossing moors, by men stripping bark in the woods, women in little cottages miles from any village, and girls who showed me short cuts from hill to hill. Living, as I do, at the extreme edge of the Forest of Dean in Gloucestershire, and on the borders of Monmouthshire, my opportunities for collecting characteristic folk-lore should be great, for I have three racial districts within walking distance, districts where one would expect to find distinct varieties of folk-lore, if folk-lore follows race.

First, there are the Forest of Dean people of my own immediate neighbourhood—small, dark, and passionate; descendants of gipsies, squatters, and broken men. Then there are the Gloucestershire people of the rolling cultivated lands and valleys; they are fairer, larger, and more ordinary. Over the river we come to Welshmen, for

¹ *Folk-Lore*, Vol. XIII., p. 170.

Monmouthshire is to all intents and purposes Wales; indeed, I have even heard Welsh spoken there. On the hilltops there the ancient Silurians are said still to be found, and the country is covered with moors and great woods, so that race peculiarities might well persist.

But I must in all honesty confess that, as far as folklore is concerned, I have been unable to discover any differences. Perhaps as time goes on my inquiries may lead to some result in this direction, but as far as I can at present see the same superstitions flourish—I use the word advisedly—on both sides of the river. And yet the people are *not* of the same type, and Offa's Dyke, stretching along the hither side of the Wye, still divides England from Wales.

The chief traces we find of "Racial Differences" suggest another sense of that term. We have many place-names, whose folk-etymology recalls the long-past border wars and commemorates real or imaginary battles. Such are Hewelsfield (Glos.), popularly derived from "Hew and slay" or "Human slay." Again, Beachly, near Chepstow, is supposed to come from the English cry of "beat and slay" as they drove their foes into the water off the narrow tongue of land now bearing that name. At Trelleck (Mon.) is the Bloody Field, on which no crops will grow, nothing but gorse. "Eh, but it have been ploughed again and again, but 'tis no use; because of the blood spilt there, 'tis no use."

At Redbrook (Glos.) is found a piece of very mixed tradition. There is "a pitched road, all laid wi' limestone, and stones set on edge; they do say it was where the Turks, or Romans, or such, did travel, the way they did walk. Some calls it the Roman Road, to go somewhere. They calls it the Turks' Fields."

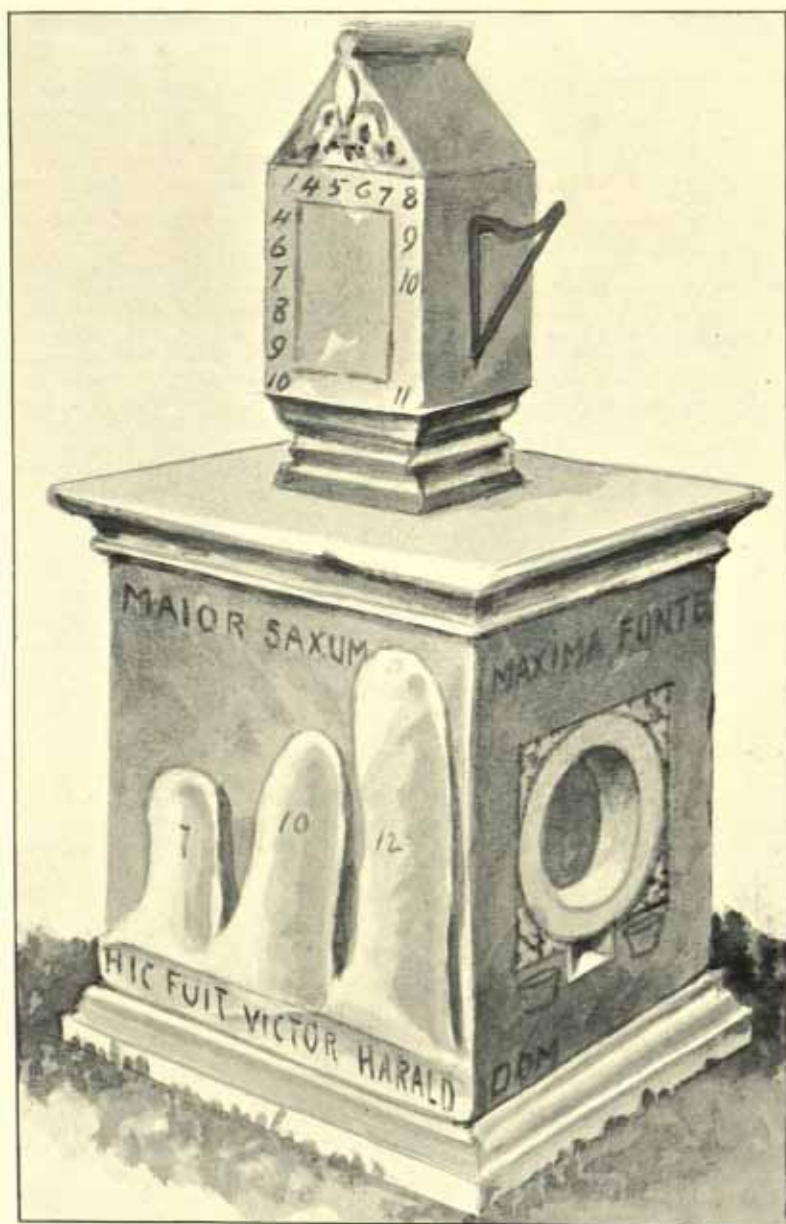
The village of Trelleck, in Monmouthshire, is specially rich in "Remains." There stand the Three Stones, upright monoliths, the "Tre-leck" from which the place

takes its name: stones which were flung from the top of Trelleck Beacon to their present position by Jacky Kent and the Devil, as Miss Wherry told us in her paper on Monmouthshire Witchcraft.¹ The distance is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, but that was nothing to Jacky; "He were always a' flinging stones," I was told, and some of his stray shots used to be found in our own neighbourhood. Legend said his stones could never be moved, but alas! gunpowder has accounted for one at least on the English side of the Wye.

But there is another Trelleck tradition. If you ask your way to the three stones you will be answered, "The way to Harold's Stones? Yes, Miss," and then directed. Specially will you be so answered if your informant is at all above the labouring class, and the information will be added that "Harold he did set them up because of a great battle he did win, and if you goes on, Miss, you'll see the great mound where they did bury all the dead." The facts of that battle and that victory are real enough. The late Professor Freeman, in the second volume of his *Norman Conquest*, under the year 1063, quotes the chronicler Geraldus Cambrensis to this effect, that "Each scene of conflict was marked with a trophy of stone bearing the proud legend, 'Here Harold conquered.'"

It is quite possible that Earl Harold may have taken to himself stones obviously not of his own raising, though there is no trace of an inscription on any of the menhirs at Trelleck. But so definite and detailed is the tradition that one at once suspects a literary source. Prof. Freeman is not likely to have lectured at Trelleck—is an acquaintance with Giraldus possible? If so, it is not of recent date. There stands in the church a very curious sundial, bearing the date 1671, which was formerly in the old school-yard. On one face of the pedestal is carved an excellent representation of the three stones,

¹ Vol. XV., p. 75.



SUNDIAL AT TRELLECK.

To face p. 165.

with the inscription, "Maior Saxum, hic fuit victor Harald"; and on another is carved a dome-shaped object, with the inscription, "Magna Mole, O quot hic sepulte," obviously referring to the neighbouring mound.¹

This would at first sight seem to support the idea of literary contamination, more especially as we know that towards the end of the seventeenth century the English language and English antiquities began to be seriously studied by the learned of this country. Still, we have no proof that the benefactor who erected this sundial was acquainted with Giraldus, and, if he were, I cannot think that even the most brazen antiquary would have had the courage to set up such an inscription on the sole authority of the general statement of Giraldus, (who, moreover, says nothing of the mound), had he not had some already-existing local tradition to go upon. I am therefore inclined to think that the connection of Harold with the three stones of Trelleck is a piece of really independent tradition, emphasized and made permanent by an enthusiastic local antiquary. In this connection, I must remind you that there is more than one carved side to this curious and valuable monument. Giraldus Cambrensis made no mention of the mound delineated on the first side, and most certainly he ignored the object shown on the third side, which is to me the most interesting of all. We have here the round basin of a well, with cups, and the inscription, "Maxima Fonte" (the rest illegible), and this represents the *Virtuous Wells*—wells still resorted to for their curative powers, and as a wishing-well. There are not, I think, many such carvings of sacred wells known, so the man who

¹ See Plate XVIII., kindly drawn by Mr. Henry Jewilt from my rough sketch. The whole inscription is apparently intended to be read thus: "Magna Mole, O quot hic sepulte!" (carving of mound): "Major Saxum. Hic fuit victor Harald," (carving of stones): "Maxima Fonte, Dom" *illegible*, (carving of well-circle with cups and flowers).

wished to perpetuate *this* tradition also, must have been something more sympathetic than a mere bookworm grubbing for history.

As far as I can learn, there is no religious legend attached to the Virtuous Wells, though I have heard them spoken of as St. Anne's Well by people who did not belong to Trelleck. There are supposed once to have been nine springs, though but four remain: they are enclosed in a walled area, which has never been roofed in, and is entered by descending steps. It contains two stone benches and two squared recesses, besides that of the chief spring, which is honoured with an arched recess and a round stone basin—very evidently that figured on the sun-dial. The wells are situated about a mile outside the village, nowhere near the stones, and an ordinary stream runs within a few feet of them. The various springs are supposed to cure various ailments, if used early in the morning, and fasting. The water of the main spring contains iron, and very nasty it is, as I know from sad experience, having tasted it under the impression that that was the right way to wish. I afterwards learnt that I ought to have dropped in a pebble and wished as it fell through the water.

There is also a tank at Trelleck called the Nine Wells, which tradition assigns as a bathing place to the "nuns" of Tintern Abbey, some three miles distant. They are supposed to have come by a subterranean passage. It is curious that the country folk always speak of the *nuns*, though Tintern was a Cistercian Monastery.

Trelleck is supposed once to have had seven churches, and at very low water it is said that the spire of one of the last buildings is still to be seen at the bottom of a pond in the Green Lane. Now this legend *is* rather characteristically Celtic, but I will pass on to

another subject, that of charming, which is one in which our neighbourhood takes a great and lively interest.

We have still living amongst us magic in all its three distinct forms—white, black, and domestic. By domestic magic I mean ordinary helpful charms, where the power lies in the charm itself, and which can be practised by anyone. "Peter sat on a marble stone," for instance, is an universal incantation, helpful in itself, to be administered by anybody. But True Charming—white magic—is a gift, a power in the possession of one person, wise man or wise woman, special, priest-like, not to be used lightly; communicable only by a species of initiation to those who are likely to use it fitly, and in no wise to be confused either with popular charms or with the evil workings of the devil's servants.

We at St. Briavel's possess a most famous charmer, a man resorted to by the afflicted of villages ten miles distant, both for themselves and for their beasts. And of this man I may boast myself the pupil.

Old Luke Page¹ is a partial cripple, but a fine handsome old man, with shrewd clear-cut features and a humorous eye. He is an excellent judge of character, intuitively suiting his methods to his company, but with a very real belief in his own gift. In his early days he was a butcher in good standing, and is a man of some education. When I went by appointment to his cottage I was courteously invited to a seat, and it was explained to me that, whatever I said, I was to give no thanks to him. Luke and his old woman—a little shrivelled thing, with the face of a hungry bird—sat on either side of the wood-fire, and a weird black hen sat upright like a penguin in the doorway, and watched me with intelligent eyes whilst the charmer spoke gravely and

¹ January, 1905.—I regret to say that Luke Page has died since this paper was written.

reverently of his art. That I came of four generations of clergy impressed him greatly, and added much to my fitness to receive the power.

"You do want to know how to charm? Well, Missy, 'tis easy; but you must have the love, and you do have to be steadfast. 'Tis only for you to have a liking, and make your mind up, and have a wish to do a body good, and be steadfast. How to do it? Well, 'tis like this. Suppose one should come to 'ee, an' they have an arm or a shoulder out. You must know the Christian name, and, if it be an animal, you do give him one. You do get hold of the person, and examines the place and handles it over, wherever the place is, and you will know by your own inside *what* 'tis when they comes to 'ee. You've no need to tell *they* nothing nor let others know; and see here, Missy, 'ee musn't never tell a woman the way, because of halving the power. Then you fetches out the complaint. You *got* to know the Christian name for it to come right.

"Rub with the right hand and say: 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, great God above, send all things right, bone to bone, marrow to marrow, blood to blood, and flesh to flesh, in this right arm of James Reynolds. Send all things right in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' Then you do mention the Lord's Prayer. Do this two or three times all to yourself, handling it. Never say *them* the charm, say it to yourself."

"And the same if it was scalds or burns or toothache, or anything. You got to be steadfast, and you got to say the Lord's Prayer. The quicker 'tis done after the injury the sooner 'twill come good."

"An' you got to take No Thanks, but thank the Almighty, and keep it to yourself."

"I hear you sometimes write charms?" said I.

"O yes, you can write this, or som'at from the Bible for they to carry about, but they must have faith."

Now I had been told that Luke used to do some protective charming every year for a farmer now dead, in which the burning of salt figured. As this is in itself an evil and unlucky thing, I asked questions, but got no answer save an uncomfortable look. But the little old woman from the other side of the hearth burst out excitedly: "Burn salt? why, yes! you can fetch a man wi' that! If a girl have been wronged by a man, or if you do want revenge, you can fetch him back at midnight. You do make a good fire, and you mustn't speak or let any one stir it. An' as it strikes midnight you do put the salt on the fire, and *wishes* him back to speak to you. An' as it strikes you finishes, and him will come, aye!—*through water*!! No poker, no tongs in the corner, or him will take 'em, and stir out the trouble you be making. That'll bring un back, it will, I know, for I did try myself!" Here old Luke broke in, "Don't you do it, don't you listen, Missy. They as are good at charming mustn't do the devil's work, and that's devil's work, that is."

But that the charmer himself sometimes used to burn salt in his charming is certain. I do not know if it was a case of fighting evil with evil, but a farmer's widow told me how in her husband's time old Luke used to come to charm the cattle. He would ask for half a pound of salt and go off *alone* to the "folder." After a while he would send it back to the kitchen to be burned. But he would not tell what he did.

The same woman told me how he cured one of their farm lads who suffered from nose-bleeding to a dangerous extent. Physicians were in vain, so his mother took him to old Luke.—"Yes Miss, he got out the Bible right enough, and put the key in it, and the boy did turn it round, and Luke did say something, and the boy wasn't to touch it after he turned it round the last time, and the boy did hold the Bible whilst old Luke he did put the key down his back; and he's never had no bleeding

since, Miss. Luke he opened the Bible where he thought proper." This was about four months ago.

I have been told he sometimes gives written charms, the ink of which is to be washed off and drunk by the patient. He always looks in his *Zadkiel's Almanack* to find a lucky day. ("Yes, Miss, 't will help 'ee, this book will," he said to me.) That he suits his methods to his company the foregoing details will show, but that his gift is undoubted I could prove by many instances. He is called out to distant farms, and both human patients and cattle are brought to him from all around. Many sick beasts owe their cure to him, and our late doctor had a great respect for his knowledge of herbs and bone-setting.

That the methods of professional charmers were the same in earlier days is shown by the account given me of "an old tiny lady, very funny, who did travel about, a charmer she was. She did catch hold of 'ee, an' 'ee couldn't never hear what she did say. She got it, and she said, 'That'll do, *an'* you'll find my words come true.'"

Charming leads us on naturally enough to the kindred but very distinct subject of witchcraft. Here the stories are endless, for if there be one thing more than another in which we still believe, it is in "Bewitching." Most of the tales one hears are very confused and like each other, and much concerned with pigs.

There is a mysterious Book, supposed to be in the possession of various women, which is the subject of trembling curiosity. A certain Mrs. Reynolds had been doing plain sewing at my aunt's house, and Kate, the maid, was much excited. "She's the second daughter of old Mrs. Williams." "Oh! she was called a witch, was not she?" "Yes, and her daughters are too, both on 'em. It's Mrs. Reynolds who's the best one, she's got the Book. Did you ever hear why she's *out* with Mrs. Thomas? Oh yes" (very cheerfully), "they did have words, and she did say something over the pig, and it's never picked up since."

Then thoughtfully, "If I'd known when she was in the house, I'd have asked to look at the Book, I'd often heard of it."

One charming old farmer told me many wandering stories about witches and their ways. "Witches," he said, "oh, yes, they old witches did go about wi' packs on their backs, and if 'ee did refuse un, or make game o' they, why ee'd be sure to be stopped. They'd say, 'Ah! never mind, I don't need to *touch* 'ee' and they did put a spell on 'ee and curse 'ee; make children spoonies they did, or club-foot, or bleed to death, and making the poor animals holler and bawl, and oh, my dear! what *should* be done to they old women?"

"Now, there was old Harriet Wells. She went in the shape of a pig, she did. Just before she died they shot at her twice. They done it twice, wi' marbles in a gun to prevent her going. But they never hit her. She cursed them all, the man, his wife, and they were all struck wi' illness, and prevented their getting their butter, and their beasts was all nesh.¹ So him followed her one night after they shot at her, an' offered her a sack o' corn not to do anything to they again. She took the sack o' corn, but before taking it, her said she must come down to the house to see what was the matter wi' they. An' she brought an old pot an' burnt it on the fire, an' they could never tell what was in it. Then she took the pot an' went off, an' said them could send the corn. Oh, she was a dreadful old woman, always tormenting people. Then there was old Witch Harris; she did go to a farm asking for potatoes, and was refused, and then for cider. The farmer's wife, she said no, she hadn't got no cider. 'O yes you have, plenty of cider.' 'How do you know?' 'Never mind, I *do* know.' 'Well, my husband said I wasn't to give none away.' 'Ah! have he? He'll be the first to regret it! as you'll have three children born who'll

¹ Nesh = tender, delicate. See *Engl. Dialect Dict.*, s. v.

lose as much flesh, blood, and bones as he've refused *me* cider!' And they *did*, Miss, and they are little tiny things, the Wrens, they calls 'em; many's the time I've seen 'em, grown men, never no bigger nor a child.

"Old Mrs. Rollins, she was a masterpiece, she was. She did bewitch her son's wife, who took to wandering in the woods, and it took nine men to find her. So they took her to the old witch's house, and they got her in and locked the door up, the husband and the old witch's husband. And the husband had to get the Bible and the key of the door and hand it to the old witch, and he said, 'You give my wife here peace, and unwitch her.' The old witch did do something with the key and the Bible, and she did never go away again."

This is an interesting example of the use of white magic to expel black, rather than a good story. The following is, however, more dramatic. I got it from the late vicar of Hewelsfield, a village adjoining ours, and in the Chase. He was conversing with a clever old cottager, and from the Bible they got on to spirits and kindred subjects, and the old lady grew confidential. "Witches, eh? They say 'the old witch can't do nothing,' but you and I, *we* knows! Why, there was my mother's brother;¹ his daughter was hired out the first time, a fine bearded² wench she was. One day her mistress says to her, 'There's old Mrs. Wurgan coming along.' (Now *she* was a witch, as everyone knew.) An' her mistress says, 'If she asks you for anything, don't you give it her.' An' the old witch, she comes to the door, an' she says, 'Will you lend me one of your clean aprons?' So the girl says, 'I haven't got none.' An' the old witch, she did go on awful! 'You wicked wench,' she says, 'you've got *three* clean ones, an'

¹ The elder and less sophisticated people always describe collateral relationships genealogically in this way. Names, too, are very seldom used, and even young people will say "old Mr. A.'s daughter," rather than "Polly A."

² Beardedly or burdly = stately, handsome. Cf. *Eng. Dial. Dict.*

they're lying folded up in the left-hand corner o' your top drawer'; an' she did go away, saying *she'd* pay her out for her lies. An' that girl was taken with the most awful toothache, she couldn't sit nor stand nor rest day nor night, nor eat a bite. So her mistress, she sent for my mother's brother, and he came an' found the poor girl going about with a face as long as a wet week. An' when he came to hear he *was* in a tearing rage, and said *he'd* see about it, *he* wasn't going to stand no such. So he went to that old witch's house, and there she was a-sitting by the fire washing her pot. An' he says, 'You take that ill-wish off my daughter,' an' threatens what he'll do if she didn't. An' she asked, 'What can *I* do about it?' He says, 'You wish it away.' She says she will, an' mutters to herself, but what she says is, 'Wish it may *stay*.' So my mother's brother he goes back, and finds the poor girl worse than ever. An' he *was* in a taking, and back he goes, and he takes the old witch an' he shakes her, an' he says, 'You wish it away, or I'll set you on the fire.' She mutters again, 'Wish it may stay,' but this hears her, an' takes her up an' bundles her on to her own fire, an' there he holds her until she shrieks out, 'Lemme up! I wish it may *go*!' And the pain it did go that very minute; and he got back, and found the girl eating her dinner as smart as ever."

We have also the story of the man with a witch-wife. He was thin but she was fat, and he complained of this. So his wife promised that he should become as well-liking as herself. One night she and her witch-friends took him to a neighbouring country-house, and the witches all turned themselves into straws and went in under the doors, which they then opened and let in the man, afterwards securing them again. He was told on no account to speak a word; the witches then brought up wine and food from the cellar and the larder, and all began to feast, when suddenly the man whispered, "Haven't you any salt?" on which the

witches disappeared, leaving him behind a prisoner in the house.

This story is, of course, a "commonplace," but it is interesting to find it accepted amongst our local tales, just *as* a story, without name or place given. Here is a Devil-legend of the same type, which has, however, been localized, though even there the actors are nameless.

"Did you never hear tell of the shoemaker and the Devil? Well, Miss, they do tell this tale. One night there was a shoemaker going up the Gloucester road, very late it was, and there he did meet a stranger, and they two did get a-talking as they went along. And by and bye, finding as how he was a shoemaker, the stranger asks will he make him a pair of boots. So down he kneels in the road to take the measure, but when he had done one foot, there weren't no other, only a claw! And the poor man he makes as though he didn't notice, and the stranger went off, saying meet him there when the boots was done. The shoemaker went home half frightened to death. Early the next morning him did go to the parson and told him all about it, and what should he do? And *he* said, 'Make him the boots, but don't you go for to take no money for them, not on no account.' So when the boots were ready he went to meet the stranger, and the parson, he did come with him to pray. But the parson *he* stayed at the turn of the road, out of sight behind the hedge, *him* did. So there stood the stranger, and he gave him the boots. But when the money was offered, the shoemaker he wouldn't take it. And there was a great crash in the hedge, and the stranger rose up in the air and fled away, and there's a great big hole in the hedge to this day. Yes, Miss, him did take the boots." The Devil has a great deal of property in our parts—kitchens and pulpits, and even a portion of St. Briavel's Churchyard, a waste piece where few are buried, save suicides and such like.

"That's the Devil's bit, Miss, and don't *you* be buried there," was said to me by a wellwisher.

Offa's Dyke, locally known as the Devil's Track, runs along the Wye Valley; but I have found no tradition to account for the name, though there is one, I believe, in Shropshire (*Shropshire Folklore*, p. 622).

Miss Wherry has told us much about Jacky Kent o' Grosmont, the famous wizard. Though a Gloucestershire man, his fame seems better preserved in Monmouthshire, at least I have heard more about him over the water. There are people who say they have seen his tomb half in and half out of Grosmont Church, from which the dove flew out to show that Jacky had got the better of the Devil to the end!

"Jacky and the Devil, they was always doing things together. They used to carry stones over the bridge just outside Gloucester to build with. There are a lot of old buildings outside of Cheltenham called the Devil's Town, and they do say it was to build *that*.¹ But if twelve o'clock struck as they was passing the bridge they had to drop them, and you can see them now, a lot of big stones lying about in the field."

The Picked Stone at Trelleck is also rejected house-material of the Devil's. There is, too, the story of a bridge to be built in one night, on the usual terms, with the usual dog as victim.

Ghosts we have in plenty, and of the most commonplace kind, the ordinary road or lane ghost, taking the form of a black sheep or pig. (I may mention that our pigs are usually of a beautiful pink.) The following is, however, worth repeating. Old Mrs. Pirrett lived in Monmouth whilst her husband was away fifteen years at the Peninsular War, and got her living by brewing, etc.² She had

¹? The "Devil's Chimney" on Leckhampton Hill? or Churchdown Church?

² Cf. *ante*, p. 64.

to go and brew at a big house which stood where the Grammar School stands now, by the Wye Bridge. She had to go in the middle of the night, so as not to use the copper when the cook wanted it. She was crossing Wye Bridge shortly after midnight when a coach and four dashed past her, coachman and horses alike without heads, and rushed straight into the river. She went on as well as she could, her knees shaking with terror, and went to the front door, the way she always had to get in at night. A clergyman came and opened it, in a bath of perspiration, and said to her in furious tones, "What do you want here?" then, "Come in, for Heaven's sake, quick!" As she passed towards the back of the house she saw a lot of gentlemen standing in a circle in one of the sitting-rooms. "An' when she came to think of it, she saw as how they must have been laying the ghost she had met." It takes twelve clergymen to lay one ghost.

Belief in the fairies has not yet quite died out, though it is fast disappearing. Still, fairy-tales are yet to be heard, even if rarely, on either side of the Wye, and in Gloucestershire standards are still left at intervals in the hedges "for the fairies to hide in." (A "standard" is a single stem, which is left uncut at the first trimming of a hedge, and which remains, rising like a little tree above the rest.)

About forty years ago there was a girl at Penallt who used to go out every night by her bedroom window to dance with the fairies, always at a certain time, and was back by a certain time. She always left a pail of water by a well-swept hearth for the fairies to boil their kettle, and a loaf on the table. Over "to" Trelleck, a girl told me that the fairies came out from under the toadstools, and danced at the Parkhurst rocks, which shows their good taste, for it is a lovely place. It was also their custom to dance round the Virtuous Wells, notably on

All Hallows' Eve, drinking the water out of hairbell cups. People used to find these the next morning round the well, withered and thrown away. They used to gather them up and dry them, to use in illness. One churlish farmer dug up the ring, because he "didn't like all them silly tales." The next day, when he came, he found the water dried up, a thing hitherto unknown. And, strangely, it was only dry to him; other people could get water. He went again in the morning, hoping to find some water collected, and found instead a little old man sitting there, who told him that he was very much displeased at the ring being dug up, and that the sods must be put back at once. When this was done the water came again, but not before.

My next story comes from the Forest of Dean, and was told by the same old woman in Hewelsfield, who was so fluent on the subject of witches.

"There do be them as says there be no such, but you and I, *we* knows! Oh! *I* could tell 'ee things! Why, there was my father. Him did come home one night all of a tremble, and his horse as frightened as himself. Him 'ad been riding home through the forest—all covered in dead leaves, the road were—an' when he were well on in the lane, the leaves they did begin to rise up, they did, just a stone's throw ahead o' he, as though the wind were a-whirling of 'em, an' there *weren't* no wind, 'twas as still as still. They did get up a-twisting and a-twirling, more, and more, and more, an' always just that much ahead. My father him did get that frightened, him did ride hard to get past they, an' the poor horse all of a muck o' sweat. But 'twasn't no use, him couldn't never get no nearer they, for all his riding, they was just that much ahead, an' not a breath stirring. Eh, my father, he was rarely frightened, he was!"

By this you will see that we hold the common belief

that the small whirlwinds which carry columns of dust along the quiet lanes are made by the fairies riding by.

My last story is of the nature of a "droll."

"Farmer Gag he lived at Ruardean, in the Forest of Dean, and he was in arrears with his rent. One day the farmer's youngest son met the landlord, who asks him where his father was. Lad says, 'He's off making a bad matter worse.' Landlord asks, 'Where is your mother?' Lad says, 'Baking a batch o' bread as was ate last week.' The landlord asks where his sister was. Lad says, 'In the other room crying over the fun she had at Whitsuntide.' The landlord asks where his brother was. Lad says, 'Gone a-hunting; and all the game he kills he leaves behind, and all as he doesn't kill he brings home alive.'

"So then the landlord he says: 'Well, if you come to my house to-morrow at twelve, not before nor not after, not coming straight down the road nor across the fields, why, I'll forgive your father the six months' rent he owes.'

"The lad he went the next day, and got there just at twelve o'clock. 'How did you come?' says the landlord? 'Across the road,' says the lad. 'I told you you were *not* to come down the road nor across the fields.' 'No more I didn't,' says the lad. 'I didn't come *down* the road. I rode the old sheep, and he ran from one hedge to the other across the road, all the way, and scratched my face, as you can see.'

"Then the lad he was taken into the house, for to make his explanations.

"'Now, how was your father off making a bad matter worse?'

"'The cow died, and father he was at the public spending the money as ought to have bought us a new cow,' says the lad.

"'And your mother, who was baking a batch of bread as was ate last week?'

"'So she was; we *hadn't* no bread last week, but borrowed from neighbours, and when I met you, she was baking a batch o' bread to repay the neighbours with,' says the lad.

"'And about your sister, who you said was crying over the fun she had at Whitsuntide,' asks the landlord.

"'So she was,' says the lad. 'She had saved some money, and at Whitsuntide she spent it all, and she was crying over that when you met me.'

"'And about your brother's hunting,' asks the landlord.

"'What I said was true,' says the lad. 'When we met, my brother, was under an oak-tree hunting fleas, and all he killed he left behind, and all he did not kill he brought home alive.'

"So the landlord he gave a receipt for the six months' rent that was due."

MARGARET EYRE.

COLLECTANEA.

SAINT JAMES'S DAY AND GROTTOS.

It is the custom of the children in this neighbourhood (Leytonstone, Essex) on the festival of St. James, July 25th, and on the few following days, to erect little structures of clinkers or rubbish on the edges of the pavement, to which they attract attention by their persistent appeals to "Please to remember the grotto."

During the past grotto season (1904) I invited several of the older boys into the garden and watched them construct one of their edifices.

The *Size* varies; roughly perhaps it is some two feet across, eighteen inches deep, and eighteen inches high.

The *Structure* consists of floor, back, side-walls and roof; the front is left partly open. The roof is formed by placing sticks across the walls and then piling stones upon them, the general form of the roof being that of a dome.

Flowers. The outside of the structure is ornamented with flowers pushed in between the crevices.

Materials. If possible, shells—oyster shells for choice—are procured, but generally, as a matter of fact, the clinkers and stones are used.

Candle. The first halfpenny given by the passer-by is spent in purchasing a candle, which is put in the grotto and lighted.

The *Date* for making these grottoes did not seem to them clear. "It is grotto time now," said one, "we see others building them"; "We keep a note-book with the time for peg-tops, leap-frog and grotto time," said others.

Reason for Building. None of them knew of any reason for their erection; no one had ever seen it elsewhere; they had all done it at school, having seen others.

The observance of this custom seems fairly general in the London district. Grotto building has been observed in recent years at Barnet, Hoxton, Islington, in the North of London; and at Hammersmith in the West, besides Leytonstone in the East.¹ Also some fifty years ago, my landlady, then a child in the (at that time) well-to-do suburb of the Old Kent Road, S.E., used herself to make these grottoes, using for the purpose oyster-shells, which were procured from a fishmonger and most carefully cleaned, and greeting the passers-by with the following jingle:—

“Please to remember the grotto;
It's only once a year.
Father's gone to sea;
Mother's gone to fetch him back,
So please remember me.”

Chambers's *Book of Days* mentions this custom of grotto-making under July 25th, and gives an illustration representing a child standing by one of these grottoes and begging from a lady passing by. His account is that in London, on the first few days of the oyster season, children make piles of these shells with a candle stuck in the top to be lighted at night, while the children whine out “mind the grotto”—a demand for a penny, professedly to keep up the candle. Neither Ellis's *Brand's Antiquities*, nor Hone's *Every Day Book* have anything on the subject.

All whom I interrogated were quite ignorant of the fact that they were assisting unconsciously to perpetuate an interesting custom which has probably been handed down for more than 500 years; and of the real import of candle and flowers. For these grottoes are almost certainly imitations of shrines to St. James of Compostella, which were erected in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in London (and perhaps at other places in England) for the benefit of those poorer folk who could not afford the expense of the long pilgrimage to Spain and yet wished to pay their devotions to the perhaps most popular saint of that day (*cf.* Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and*

¹[When I was a child at Islington, fifty years ago, the date of the grotto-day was August 5th, *i.e.*, 25th July, Old Style.—E. S. Hartland.]

Fable, 24th ed., under heading "Grotto"). It would be interesting to know whether the custom is confined to the London district or whether it is observed elsewhere in England. And also whether there was a shrine set up in the city of London itself, or whether there were several shrines set up in the villages just outside, which lay on the great main roads leading to London.

The shell connected with Saint James the Great was the scallop-shell, *Pecten Jacobaeus*. The children's use of the oyster-shell is probably due to the fact that it roughly resembled the scallop-shell in shape, and also was at this time easily procurable because of the commencement of the oyster season.¹ For the legend of St. James the Greater and his connection with Spain, with Compostella, and with the scallop-shell, see the *Lives of the Saints*.

FREDERIC G. D'AETH.

THE "SCOPPIO DEL CARRO" AT FLORENCE.

(*Ante*, p. 131.)

IN the spring of the year 1904 I had occasion to visit Florence on business, and, by a fortunate coincidence, my visit extending over Easter, I was able, for the first time, to witness the well-known annual ceremony of the "Scoppio del Carro."

The "Carro," as it is called, resembles in form rather a Catafalque, or Funeral Urn, being a sombre grey-brown erection, four-sided, and diminishing in size alike towards the summit and the base. The lines were marked out by wreaths of fireworks, in pink

¹[This seems questionable. Every housewife knows that oysters are out of season "when there is no *r* in the name of the month"; *i.e.* from April to September. Accordingly the 1st of September is the date of Colchester Oyster-Feast, which thus apparently resembles a feast of "first fruits" partaken of by the elders of the community. Could not some member of the Society manage to be present at it this year, and send us particulars? —Ed.]

and white paper, which crowned the top, ran down the four sides, and encircled the intersecting line. The same "Carro" apparently serves year after year.

This structure was mounted upon a wheeled base, hung with crimson cloth and drawn by two splendid white oxen, almost hidden under their crimson " housings," their horns gilded, and huge flat wreaths of flowers and evergreens rising high above their foreheads.

The ceremony of the "Scoppio" takes place on Easter Eve. Early on that day the "Carro" was drawn by the oxen to its appointed station on the Piazza del Duomo, midway between the Cathedral and the Baptistry. The great west doors of the Duomo were opened, and from the "Carro" to a pillar erected in front of the High Altar ran a wire at a height of about 6 feet from the ground. A passage was left down the centre of the nave, the spectators being ranged on either side, and crowding the vast interior from wall to wall.

A little after eleven the service began, but in the prevailing bustle and confusion it was quite impossible to ascertain either the details of the ritual or the words of the prayers. Shortly before 11.30 the clergy of the Cathedral, including the Archbishop, came in procession down the nave, chanting as they went, and issuing from the west door, crossed the square to the Baptistry. After a short absence (about 20 minutes) they returned, but now at the rear of the procession walked one of the priests, carefully carrying a lighted candle. This, I was told, was the "Sacred Fire" brought by one of the Pazzi family from Jerusalem in the Middle Ages, and never since extinguished. I imagine that what my informant really meant was that the candle had been lighted at the "Sacred Fire" which was preserved in the Baptistry.

On returning to the altar the celebrant, whether the Archbishop or not I could not see, began High Mass. Precisely at noon the "Gloria" was reached, and as the first words were sung the sacred fire was applied to the pillar, which, like the "Carro," was wreathed with fireworks. This was the supreme moment of the ceremony; with a hissing sound, amid a shower of sparks, a dove, apparently of fire, flew from the pillar along the wire,—it should have reached the "Carro," and setting that alight, returned to the

altar from whence it came, on the success or non-success of its flight depending, in the opinion of the Contadini, the fate of this year's harvest. By some unhappy chance it flew no farther than midway down the nave, where, with a last despairing "fizzle," it became extinguished, revealing itself as a stuffed bird tied on to a bundle of squibs. Immediately the spectators rushed upon it, each trying to secure at least a feather. Finally a small child succeeded in capturing what remained of the carcase, and went off with it in triumph.

That evening the walls were placarded with the announcement of a "Mala Pasqua," and all sorts of misfortunes for the present year were freely prophesied. A friend who had witnessed the "Scoppio" on many previous occasions told me she had never before seen it fail thus, and that the last time it happened was the year of the late Archbishop's death.¹

The points which struck me most were the curious shape of the "Carro" and the elaborate decoration of the oxen, which seemed to me to hint at a possible sacrificial origin.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

¹ "Another chapter is devoted to a description of the extraordinary ceremonial which takes place in the Duomo of Florence on every Easter Eve, when a firework in the shape of a dove is lighted at the high altar, rushes down a cord attached to a cart outside the west door, and there sets fire, in broad daylight, to a collection of squibs, crackers, gerbs, and other loudly-banging and evil-smelling combustibles. There is a wide-spread belief that if the dove flies straight to the cart the result will be a good harvest. Certainly the present writer can testify, from personal observation last Easter, that when, as then happened, some kink in the cord interrupted the flight and caused the dove to explode in small fragments inside the cathedral, a general depression seemed to seize the multitude who filled not only that enormous building but the whole piazza and the adjacent streets; and the Florentine newspapers next morning wrote pathetically of the universal disappointment."—Review, *Old Florence and Modern Tuscany*, by Janet H. Ross; *Morning Post*, 26th Jan., 1905.

WINNING THE CHURN (ULSTER).

(Ante, p. 130.)

THE custom of "Winning the Churn" was prevalent all through the counties of Down and Antrim fifty years ago. It was carried out at the end of the harvest, or reaping the grain, on each farm or holding, were it small or large. Oats are the main crop of the district, but the custom was the same for other kinds of grain. When the reapers had nearly finished the last field a handful of the best-grown stalks was selected, carefully plaited as it stood, and fastened at the top just under the ears to keep the plait in place. Then when all the corn was cut from about this, which was known as "*The Churn*," and the sheaves about it had been removed to some distance, the reapers stood in a group about ten yards off it, and each whirled his sickle at the "*Churn*" till one lucky one succeeded in cutting it down, when he was cheered on his achievement. This person had then the right of presenting it to the master or mistress of the farm, who gave the reaper a shilling. In many cases, in the times I refer to, the reapers concluded with a supper and dance in the farm-house. The "*Churn*" after being cut was trimmed and adorned more or less with bits of coloured ribbon before being presented; and afterwards it was often improved in shape, and made neater, by the females of the household, and more bits of ornaments were sewn on it. It was then hung on the wall, or over a picture in the farmer's sitting-room or kitchen or hall, and carefully preserved. It was no uncommon sight to see six or a dozen or more *Churns*, the prizes of former years, decorating the walls of a County Down or Antrim farmer's residence.

Not long after the middle of the last century the scythe had begun to displace the sickle or "reaping-hook," and on many holdings the custom of the winning of the Churn ceased. And at the present day the introduction of reaping-machines and self-binding reapers has almost done away with the practice. However, it still keeps a hold on old farms where the occupier and his workpeople are sufficiently strong-minded not to be laughed out of observing an old custom, but though they plait their "*Churn*," they do not cast their sickles at it.

The reaping the grain was always called "*shearing* the corn."

The "churn" exhibited is one of six, the trophies of the six years last past, hanging in the hall of my house. Six years ago the old "churns," ten or more in number, were burnt, as they had become shabby.

H. W. LETT.

Aghaderg Glebe, Loughbrickland, County Down.

FIN MACCOUL'S PEBBLE.

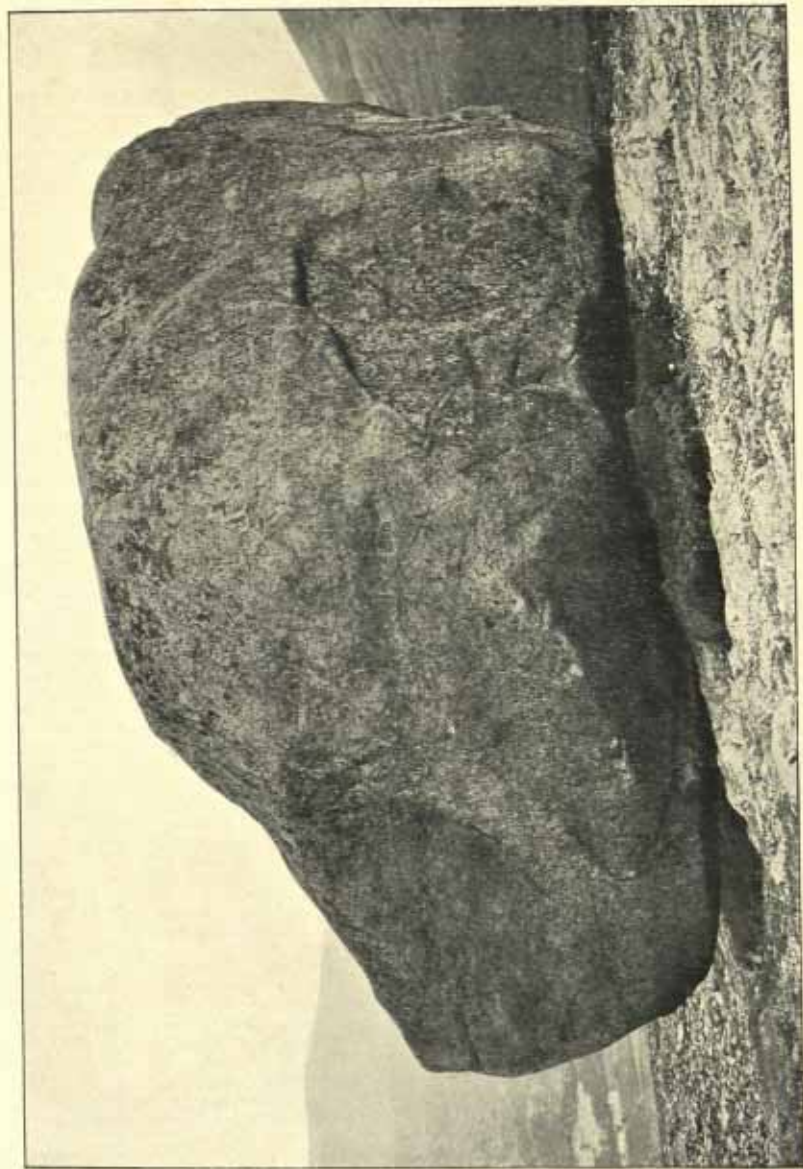
(*Ante*, p. 130.)

BRIEN BORU, Malachi of the golden collar, and the rest of the kings of Ireland were parvenus compared with Fin, and the Halls of Tara a modern villa residence compared with his abode under the vault of heaven. He and his wife dwelt in and about Carlingford, County Down, on the banks of Carlingford Lough, looking across to Rostrevor.

He was a determined giant, and ruled his wife with an iron hand, but the blood of giants did not run in her veins for nothing, so one day when Fin was more than usually unpleasant she told him that she would stand his nonsense no longer, calmly stepped across Carlingford Lough to where Rostrevor now stands, and ran up the green slope now called Rostrevor Mountain. Fin was not only surprised but incensed, so he picked up the nearest pebble and threw it at her. She was fleet of foot and it did not hit her; but there it remains to this day, a huge and slightly oscillating boulder known as Fin McCoul's Pebble, or otherwise as Cloughmore Stone. If any one can get on the top of it and wish, the wish is sure to be granted.

What became of the wife I never heard, but the giant can still be seen any day in the form of Carlingford Mountain, which from some points of view might bear a resemblance to the profile of a man with a receding forehead, an aquiline nose, and a rudimentary chin, surmounting an aldermanic figure.

L. J. DENNIS.



FIN MACCOUL'S PEBBLE.

A CAMBRIDGESHIRE WITCH.

(Communicated through Miss Beatrix Wherry.)

MRS. SMITH was born about 1810 and died about 1880. My father was then clergyman of the parish (in Cambridgeshire), and I have heard him say there were such crowds of people at her funeral that they pushed each other right into the grave, all expecting that she would burst her coffin. He was obliged to stop and speak to them, "and a fine lecture he gave them," a woman told me when lately I revisited my old home, "and serve 'em right too, for their wonderful ignorance, believing in such things."

On the occasion of the same visit I asked another old acquaintance, Mrs D——, if she could tell me anything about Mrs. Smith. "Oh yes," she said, "she used to live near us and would often come to see mother. Sometimes we would lay a knife or a pair of scissors just inside the door, and then she would say, 'I can't come in, my sole is coming off my shoe,' and she couldn't come in until we had taken the knife away, because a witch can't pass over steel. Other times we would hide a knife under the cushion on the arm-chair and ask her to sit down, but she would pick up the cushion and say, 'Why, you have got a knife hidden there!'"

I then asked if it was true that she had power over animals. "Oh yes!" was the reply, "my mother saw a waggon opposite the public-house down the road there, and the horses couldn't move it. The man was cursing, and thrashing 'em something cruel, and the horses was pulling, but they couldn't move the cart nohow. At last he got so wild, he caught hold of a pitchfork and drove it into the horse's knee, but even then [!] it couldn't go on. Well, Mrs. Smith she came down the road. 'Don't treat the poor horses like that,' she says, and directly she spoke off went the horses as if nothing was the matter. Then there was a woman here as had a pig as was taken wonderful bad, a-whirling round in the field and frothing at the mouth. Well, the woman she sent for a man to kill it, and he came a-sharpening his knife, when all of a sudden the pig

it stopped rushing round, and just ran after the man as was going to kill it—and Mrs. Smith she come by just at the minute." "And did they kill the pig?" I asked. "No, in course," she said, "it was quite well after that."

"Mrs. Smith seems to have been very kind to animals," I remarked. "Well you see, Miss," she said, "if a pig was hurt, it hurt her too: if they cut a pig on the nose, the mark came on her face. There was another woman as wanted to kill a pig as was took bad, so Mrs. Smith she took some meal and she says to the woman, 'I owe you this,' she says; and if the woman had answered she would not have been able to kill that pig. The children they used to have all sorts of jokes with her; sometimes they would stick pins into her footmark and she would turn round and ask them what they were a-doing of."

"I have been told she had imps," I said, "did you ever see any?" "No," said Mrs. D——, "I didn't, but other people have." I asked her to tell me something about them. "After Mrs. Smith died mother laid her out. There was a chest of drawers in the room and such a squeaking and a hollering going on inside it like a lot of rats, but when mother looked in there was nothing inside it. Before she died she said to mother, 'When I am dead don't you make a peep-show of me, Sarah,' but mother she did, and I went and so did lots of others. My sister Mary she saw an imp once; she was on her way to the mill and something jumped out on her, a black thing; it wasn't exactly a dog nor a rat, it looked more like a frog; the thing jumped on her and Mary she screeched something awful and ran for dear life. Mother heard she had been bitten by a mad dog, so she sent a message down she had better go to the doctor. But Mary said, no, it wasn't a dog as had jumped on her, it had the look of a frog. Mrs. Smith came to see mother. 'Is it true,' she says, 'as your darter's been bitten by a dog?' 'No,' says mother, 'it was a frog that jumped on her.' 'Ah,' says Mrs. Smith, 'it would have been a pity if she had killed it.' You see, Miss, if she had killed it, that would have hurt *her*."

"Did anybody else see the imps?" I asked.

"Yes, there was a man saw Mrs. and Mr. Smith, a-feeding the imps out of a box; that was when her husband was alive. There was my cousin, Jim D——; everybody knows he drank, but not so bad as some, not by a long way. He was coming home one night, and do what he would he could not reach home. He could walk straight in any other direction, but directly he tried to walk home something seemed to stop him, a-pulling of him back. He climbed hedges, he tried every way, and a fine state of mind he was in lest the police should catch him roaming about, and think he was up to mischief. All at once he thought he saw a woman on a horse, and when he come close, he saw it was the old girl on a hurdle! That's how she used to go about at night. Another man he saw her a-flying over hedges and ditches on her hurdle."

"There was my brother's little girl Florry as was very ill. They lived over at T——. There was a witch there, Miss. Well, they put the child's illness down to her. So my brother he got a bottle and filled it with water and put in some of the child's hair and a lot of other things as I can't remember, then they corked it up and put it on the fire to boil. Then when the bottle burst that would hurt the witch—that is, if you did not speak to her; and she came and she did her best to make them speak. There was a woman here as Mrs. Smith had a spite against. She did not leave her house for years and years, but directly Mrs. Smith died she was all right again, and so we always says as she was bewitched. Then there was a little niece of mine staying here with her mother. She was on her mother's lap sitting near the fire, and she looks up the chimney and starts screaming awful, and nothing would pacify her. They took her out of the house cause they couldn't bear the noise, but directly she was brought back she would look up the chimney and start screaming again, so we thinks she must have seen something up the chimney, and it was Mrs. Smith's doing."

"What was she like to talk to?" I asked.

"Oh, she was always very nice to us. My mother, she told her plain, that if she tried any of her tricks on our animals, she would just mark them so that it would come out on her,

so that everyone should see. If you gave her anything or lent her anything, then she had got a hold over you."

Mrs. D—— had many more anecdotes about pigs which Mrs. Smith had made ill. The complaint always took the form of whirling round and round. Many people had seen them in that state, and as soon as Mrs. Smith spoke to them they recovered immediately. But in subsequent visits Mrs. D—— refused to return to the subject, as she said it made her feel nervous at night. Another woman in the village afterwards told me nearly the same stories, and with reference to the marks coming out on the witch's hands, she declared she had seen them covered with cuts. She had herself, so she said, been an eye-witness of the scene, when a man she knew put a bottle on the fire and "said some words" over it, and directly the water began to simmer, old Mrs. Smith rushed to the door and made such a noise that they were obliged to speak to her.

HERMIONE L. F. JENNINGS.

King's Stanley Rectory, Gloucestershire.

CUTTING A WATERSPOUT.

(Communicated through Mr. J. G. Fraser.)

THE story which I give below was told me by a young Greek friend of mine, André Vagliano, a son of the Paris Vagliano. He was quite unaware of its real interest and merely regarded the whole thing as a "funny" incident. There is at least this advantage in his unsophisticated attitude that he cannot have read into the ceremony details which were not there; though, of course, he may have failed to observe points which were. This is what he told me:—

"I was travelling to Cephalonia on board the Greek S.S.

Athena in the month of February, 1905. A waterspout was sighted between Missolonghi and Cyllene at less than a mile's distance from the ship. On sighting the waterspout the sailors went down into the hold, drew cabalistic figures on a paper, took a knife with a black handle, made a movement with the knife as if cutting something, and said 'ἐκόψαμεν τὴν τρομβαν.'

In reply to my questions, Vagliano stated that so far as he is aware the sailors did not recite any formula before, during, or after the drawing of the cabalistic signs; that the sailors told him that it was essential to employ a *black-handled* knife,¹ but gave no explanation why this was so; and that it was the common sailors only who performed the ceremony, the captain and officers taking no part in it. Vagliano told the captain, who merely laughed at the whole affair; and told him that it is a very common custom among sailors, especially on sailing vessels.¹

J. G. PIDDINGTON.

Hotel Grande-Bretagne, Athens,

May 3rd, 1905.

¹ This charm is common in Greece; see *Folk-Lore*, vii. 144, 145; x. 163, 168. Compare also vii. 300, from Ireland.—W. H. D. R.

ADDITIONS TO "THE GAMES OF ARGYLESHIRE."

(Continued from *supra*, page 97.)

CHUCKS.

(P. 60, after line 24.)

We have received the list of movements as played in Uist. It is verbatim the same as that commencing on page 68 as far as "Cairteal a cheithir." It then continues—

- A. Sgapadh gobagan (a h-aon, a dha, etc.).
- B. Sgapadh goraich (a h-aon, etc.).
- C. Seatach, also called Cuir a 'stigh na beathaichean, and Sweet Milk, Skim Milk, Sour Milk, and Cream Milk.
- D. Togail nan crodh.
- E. A Bhiorag.
- F. Sgapadh deireadh, also Black Jock.
- G. Seatach game crìoch.
- H. Sgapadh beag an reisan.
- I. Reisan a h-aon bhochdag, a dha, etc.
- J. Cul an duirn a h-aon, a dha, etc.
- K. Gobag beag mo ghame thoirt dhachaidh.

Of these movements we have received information which enables us to identify

- A. as the same as 2. (a) p. 70, (*Games of Argyle*).
- B. " " 8. p. 73.
- C. " " 10. p. 74.
- D. " " 12. p. 75.
- E. " " 9. p. 73.
- G. " " 14. p. 75.
- H. " " 18. p. 76.
- I. " " 17. p. 76.
- J. " " 1. (One, two, three), p. 70.

Jump the Fence

Is another Argyleshire name for No. 13, p. 70, omitting, however, the skimming movement with the chuck on the back of the hand.

Curly Dog.

The player scatters the chucks, then throws one up and repeats, touching a chuck each time she says a word, "My wee curly dog sold pipeclay." At the word pipe the four chucks are lifted, then catching the one falling and saying the word clay, the player lays them all down. This demands such rapidity of motion and pronunciation that one would be justified in doubting its possibility, but our correspondent, Miss Kerr, has seen it successfully carried out.

Having received a very full description of the game as played in the district of Applecross, we give it as received. There it is the fashion to make the chucks from native clay, hardened by leaving them exposed to the sun (see *Folk-Lore*, xiv. 300). There are twenty-four movements.

1. *Coig, Deich, Coig-deug, Fichead.* (*Five, Ten, Fifteen, Twenty.*)

Taking the five chucks in her hand she throws them in the air, and turning the hand, palm downwards, catches two of them on the back of it. This scores five. Throwing up those two from the palm of her hand, she picks up one on the ground, catches the two as they fall on the back of her hand. This scores other five, and the player is now *deich* (ten). She then casts up the three, picks up another, and receives the four on the back of her hand. The player is now *coig-deug* (fifteen). The same movements are carried out with the four and the remaining one, and the player is now *fichead* (twenty).

2. *Crogais mhor.* (*Big Fistful.*)

Four chucks are placed in a lump on the ground, the fifth is thrown up, the four lifted, and the other caught as it falls.

3. *Crogais bheag.* (*Little Fistful.*)

Carried out as No. 2, but only three are placed for lifting.

4. *Crog Mhicheil.* (*Michael's Fist.*)

Three chucks are placed on the ground, side by side, and one on the top. One is thrown up, and the upper one of the four is lifted without disturbing the other three and the falling chuck caught. Putting down the one lifted, the other is thrown up, the three together are lifted, the descending chuck being caught.

5. *Coig gun ghliog.* (*Five without click.*)

Played as *Deafs* (p. 72).

6. *Coig na crois.* (*Cross five.*)

Four chucks were placed in a parallelogram (the name suggests the form of a cross), the player threw up one, swept up the four, and caught the falling one.

7. *Claban Mor.* (*Big mouth.*)

A chuck is placed in the mouth and one on the ground. With the playing hand the one in the mouth and the one on the ground are picked up consecutively and the falling one caught.

8. *Claban Beag.* (*Little mouth. It implies open mouth.*)

The same as 7, omitting the chuck placed on the ground.

9. *Coig an leth shuil.* (*One eye five.*)

Three are thrown up and caught after lifting the two from the ground.

10. *Coig na cearraig.* (*Left-handed five.*)

This is No. 1, p. 70, played with the left hand.

11. *Coig comhnaidh.* (*Help five?*)

Holding five in her hand the player throws four up, lays down the fifth, and catches the four as they fall.

12. *Coig mheilich.* (*Stiff (from cold) five.*)

Three in hand, two on ground, the three thrown up, and one lifted.

13. *Garadh Mor.* (*Big wall.*)

Four are placed on the ground, extending from the player in a straight line of about nine inches, the remaining one is thrown up, the four swept up, and the fifth caught.

14. *Garadh Beag.* (*Little wall.*)

As 13, three chucks forming the wall.

15. *Trusadh.* (*Gathering.*)

As 14, but only two chucks are laid down.

16. *Trusadh Beag.* (*Little gathering.*)

As 15, but while the same relative distance between each chuck has been maintained in 13, 14, 15, here the distance is reduced to a half.

17. *Slipéin Mor.* (*Big slip. Sliop?*)

Two chucks are laid down parallel to the player's front at some distance from one another. One is thrown up, the two are *slipped* up, and the other caught.

18. *Slipéin Beag.* (*Little slip.*)

Same as 17, but the chucks placed are closer together.

19. *Fad na h-uileann.* (*Length of the elbow = 'cubit.'*)

The movement here is the same as "Skips," 18, *b*, p. 77. There were, however, no instructions for the laying down of the two chucks lifted.

20. *Coig na Callain.* (*Five of the Kalends, the beginning of a new period, a month, the New Year.*)

The five chucks are thrown up from the palm of the hand, and must be caught on the back. If the player does not catch them, all her previous success goes for nothing, and she, at her next turn, commences at the beginning.

21. *Coid ard.* (*High five.*)

The chucks are scattered on the ground, one is lifted, thrown up to a comparatively great height and another lifted, the falling one being caught, of course. The one lifted is laid down, and the other three are treated in the same manner.

22. *Coig íosal.* (*Low five.*)

This is played the same way as 21, but the chuck thrown up must travel less than the usual distance, and those on the ground are shovelled up, not lifted with the thumb and fingers.

23. *Aon choig.* (*One five.*)

The five chucks are thrown up from the palm of the hand, the hand turned so as to catch them on its back; they are again thrown up and caught in the palm of the hand. *Da choig.* (*Two five.*) Between the throwing up and the catching the hand is turned twice, back up, then palm up. *Tri choig.* (*Three five.*) Between the throwing up and the catching the hand is turned three times, back up, palm up, and back up again. This played as far as *Se choig.* (*Six five.*)

24. *Coig duilich.* (*Difficult five.*)

This is a variant of "Put the Cows out of the Byre," No. 12,

p. 75. The left hand is spread flat on the ground and a chuck placed within each of the spaces, between the spread digits. One chuck is thrown up, and with the points of the right-hand fingers as many as possible of the four first placed are shoved out, and the falling chuck caught. A second throw must result now in all four being put out, and the falling chuck caught. The chuck is again thrown up, the four moved from between the left-hand fingers, lifted, and the falling chuck caught.

Where the meaning of the names is doubtful, the Gaelic must be accepted as written phonetically. The sequence given has been retained, though it does not seem natural to do the more difficult movements before the easier ones, as in the cases styled *Mor* and *Beag*. With the one exception mentioned (No. 20) a failure only means commencing in turn where the player left off.

In Perthshire the number of movements has been given to us as twenty-two.

1. The game begins as described in No. 1, p. 70, but if the player does not catch all five on the back of her hand, she throws up what she has received and catches them all in their descent on her palm. She then throws up one of them, claps the others on the ground and catches the one thrown up; throwing it up again she lifts one of those which did not remain on the back of her hand at the first cast, throws up again, claps down the one lifted and catches the falling one till all that did not settle on the back of her hand have been so treated. This counts five. This has to be done three consecutive times, each completion of the movements scoring five, so that when finished the player has added twenty to her score.

2. *Oney* equals "Scatter One," p. 70.

3. *Twoey* „ "Scatter Two," p. 71.

4. *Threey* „ "Scatter Three," p. 71.

5. *Foury* „ "Scatter Four," p. 71.

6. *Castle*. All the chucks are taken in the palm of the hand, one is thrown up, the other four put on the ground, the falling one caught, again thrown up, the four deposited lifted and the other caught.

7. *Cracks*. The same as described, p. 71.

8. *Double Cracks*. Played as No. 7, but two must be lifted each time.

9. *Deafs*. As described, p. 72.

10. *Double Deafs*. Played as No. 8, without the Crack.

11. *Tiss the Toe*. The chucks are spread on the ground, one taken and thrown up, one lifted and thrown, one caught, the two in the hand thrown up, and another lifted and the two caught. The three now thrown up, another lifted and the three caught; the four thrown up, the last one lifted and the four caught. The movement is then reversed, four are thrown up, one deposited and the four caught; three thrown up, one deposited and the three caught, and so on.

12. *Clap*. The chucks having been scattered, one is thrown up, the ground clapped with the palm of the player's hand and the falling chuck caught. She throws it up again, lifts one and catches the one thrown up.

So it has been described, but analogy leads one to believe that the ground must be clapped as well as the chuck lifted. At any rate the same movement is carried on with each individual chuck, never more than two being in the player's hand at the same time.

13. *Double Clap*. The same as 12, but two chucks are lifted each time.

14. *Hany* (Hand-y) equivalent to "Skips," a, p. 76.

15. *Army* (Arm-y) equivalent to "Skips," b, p. 77.

16. *In and out the Byre*. This combines in one movement, No. 10, p. 74, and No. 12, p. 75.

17. *Drop the Eggs*. Equivalent to No 9 a, p. 73.

18. *Double drop the Eggs*. Equivalent to No. 9 b, p. 74.

19. *Snowdrop*. With all the chucks in her hand, the player throws up two and lays down three and catches the two. She then throws up the two and lifts the three laid down, catching the two.

20. *Double Snowdrop*. Played as 19, but three have to be thrown each time.

21. *Lay the Lady*. Four chucks are spread on the ground, one is thrown up and one of the four lifted and the falling one caught.

Throwing up the one already thrown up and retaining in her hand the lifted one, she lifts a second and catches the falling one. Once more she throws up the same one, deposits the single one lifted, and catches the chuck in its descent. The same process is carried out with all the chucks till all have been gone over; she will thus finish with two in her hand. One of these she throws up, lifts one from the ground with her right and catches the thrown chuck with her left, and this is carried on till all the five chucks are in her left hand.

22. *Jump the Dyke.* Four chucks are placed about two inches apart and in line parallel to the player's front. The player throws up the fifth chuck, lifts in quick succession one and three, and catches the one thrown up, she throws it again and deposits one and three in their places and catches the falling one. She then treats two and four in the same manner.

The Mull game has been described as follows:

1. *Five, Ten, Fifteen, Twenty.* This is the equivalent of No. 1, p. 70, but the scoring is by fives, not units.

2. *Onesie, Twosie, Threesie, Foursie.* Equivalent to "Scatter One," "Scatter Two," etc., pp. 70, 71.

3. *Lift the Chair and Sweep the Floor.* Four chucks are placed on the ground and represent chairs. The player throws up the other chuck and lifts a 'chair,' catching the one she threw up. Now holding the 'chair' between her palm and ring and little finger, she throws the other chuck and gives a switching movement with her fore and middle finger representing sweeping the floor from where the chuck was lifted, and catches it. She throws up again, deposits the 'chair' in its place and catches it. The same movements are carried out with all the 'chairs.' She then throws up the tossing chuck, lifts a 'chair' and catches; she then throws up the two, lifts a 'chair' and catches both. She throws up the three, lifts the fourth and catches, throws up the four, lifts the fifth and catches.

4. *Cracks.* As 3, p. 71.

5. *Deafs.* As 4, p. 72.

6. *Lay the Eggs.* As 9, p. 73.

7. *Put the Cows in the Byre.* As 10, p. 74.

8. *Short Span.* As "Skips," a, p. 76.

9. *Long Span.* As "Skips," b, p. 77.

10. *Dumb Sawmie.* Holding all the chucks in her hand, the player throws them up and catches them on the back, throws them up from that and catches them in her palm; if she is successful that finishes the movement and the game.

If she has not caught all on the back of her hand, carefully retaining those she has caught, she pinches up between her extended fingers those on the ground, of course only using her right hand. If from this position she can throw up the whole five and catch them in her palm, the result is the same as if the first movement had been successful.

In Barra the game appears in a very rudimentary form. It is called *Iomairt* (driving, playing) simply. It is played with three chucks, and has but two movements, each of which is repeated four times, a separate name being applied to each repetition.

1. *Toosh.*

2. *Teesh.*

3. *Uainnish.*

4. *Caisteal.*

Each of these is played as follows :

Taking the three chucks in her hand, the player throws them up and catches them on the back of her hand, or as many of them as she can. If she has caught them all, the movement is complete. If only one has been caught, she tosses it up, lifts one of the two that are on the ground, and catches in the front of her hand. She again throws one up, deposits the one lifted and catches. The same is done with the second one. If two have been caught on the back of her hand after the first throw, she tosses them up and catches them, tosses one up, deposits the other and catches. Throws up, lifts the third chuck and catches, throws up, deposits, and catches.

5. *One.*

6. *Two.*

7. *Three.*

8. *Four.*

These are played thus :

The three chucks are disposed of as described in the first six lines of "Scatter One," p. 70. One is lifted and thrown up, the other two are lifted and the first one caught. One of the three is thrown up, the other two deposited, and the one thrown caught. This finishes the game.

In the Black Isle, Ross-shire, the game is called *Five Stones*. One, Two, Three, Four, p. 70, are spoken of as Onesie, Twosie, Threesie, Foursie, and other movements are called :

Crawls.

Wash the Dishes.

Cream the Milk.

Change the Money.

Skites.

Climb the Ladder.

Catch the Fish.

Up cust, down cust.

Though these names are vouched for, we have been unable to get descriptions so as to identify them.

In Kintyre the local pronunciation of Chucks is "Jecks."

CIRCLING.

(P. 86, after line 3.)

The Lodger is Dead

As played in the Outer Hebrides, deals also with apples, the words being English. Two girls, one of them on her knees, her companion covering the head of the kneeling one with her apron, are surrounded by a circle of companions moving slowly round them, singing the while—

"The lodger is dead, and laid in his grave,
Laid in his grave, laid in his grave,
The lodger is dead, and laid in his grave,
Ae, aye, laid in his grave."

Pretending to be planting a tree, the ring sings—

“They planted an apple-tree over his head,
Over his head, over his head,
They planted an apple-tree over his head,
Ae, aye, over his head.

When the apples got ripe, they all fell off,
They all fell off, they all fell off,
When the apples got ripe, they all fell off,
Ae, aye, they all fell off.”

The girl whose apron has been over the dead lodger's head pretends to gather the apples into her apron, while the ring sings—

“The woman began to pick them up,
To pick them up, to pick them up,
The woman began to pick them up,
Ae, aye, to pick them up.”

The lodger rises, strikes the apple-gatherer, while the ring sings—

“The lodger got up and gave her a knock,
Gave her a knock, gave her a knock,
The lodger got up and gave her a knock,
Ae, aye, gave her a knock.”

The lodger and the woman now hop about, while the surrounding ring sings—

“The lodger gets up and goes hippity hop,
Goes hippity hop, goes hippity hop,
The lodger gets up and goes hippity hop,
Ae, aye, goes hippity hop.”

If the game is to be continued, the two join the ring and are replaced by others.

A variant of the above is

The Lodger is Dead.

The lodger is chosen by a counting-out rhyme and, lying down on the ground, the others dance round her in a circle, holding hands and singing—

“The lodger is dead and lies in his grave, Ae, aye, O na,
(E, I, O, N, A).
The apple tree grows over his head, Ae, aye, O na.”

One from the ring goes beside the lying down lodger and pretends to be gathering apples into her apron while the others, except the dead lodger, sing—

“The old wife came and them up did pick, E, I, O, N, A,
The lodger got up and gave her a kick, E, I, O, N, A.

The lodger gets up, and after he and the old wife have hopped round inside the ring, the old wife becomes the ‘lodger’ for the next game.

Cuairteachadh mu Shandie. (Whirling round Sandy.)

A boy or girl represents Sandy and sits on the ground. The others join hands in a circle and dance round him.

“Cuairteachadh mu Shandie,
Cuairteachadh mu Shandie, Sandie beag, Sandie;
Cuairteachadh mu Shandie, Sandie beag, Sandie;
Sandie is an old man, stand up Sandie.”

As soon as the verse is finished, those in the ring make off separately in all directions and Sandie rising, pursues and catches one to take his place.

The Wind and the Rain

Is played by a ring of girls with two in the centre, but the ring apparently does not move. The ring sings—

“The wind and the rain, and the wind blows high,
The rain comes dashing through the sky,
Peggie Mactavish says she’ll die,
If she’ll not get the boy with the laughing eye.

She is handsome, she is pretty,
She’s the flower of the golden city,
She has lovers, one, two, three,
Pray can you tell me who they be?”

While this is being sung, the two in the centre retire and fix upon names of suppositious rival lovers and return singing—

“Duncan Maclarty says he’ll have her,
Sandy Grant is fighting for her.”

The whole company then, with the exception of the Peggie Mactavish mentioned, sing—

“Let them say what they will, Duncan Maclarty will have her still.”

O what is Mary weeping for

Is another of the dancing circle class. They sing—

“O what is Mary weeping for, weeping for, weeping for?

O what is Mary weeping for, in the cold and frosty morning?

Because she wants to see her lad, to see her lad, to see her lad,

Because she wants to see her lad, in the cold and frosty morning.”

Mary who stands in the centre sings—

“Father and mother, may I go, may I go, may I go?

Father and mother may I go in the cold and frosty morning?”

RING. “Yes my daughter you may go, you may go, you may go,
Yes my daughter you may go in the cold and frosty morning.”

MARY. “Buckle up my tails and away I go, away I go, away I go,
Buckle up my tails and away I go, in a cold and frosty morning.”

RING. “Who do you think I met coming home, I met coming home, I met
coming home?
Who do you think I met coming home, in a cold and frosty morning?”

MARY. “I met my sweetheart on the way coming home, on the way coming
home, on the way coming home,
I met my sweetheart on the way coming home, in the cold and frosty
morning.”

RING. “What do you think he gave to me, he gave to me, he gave to me?
What do you think he gave to me, in a cold and frosty morning.”

MARY. “He gave me a kiss and a guinea-gold ring, a guinea-gold ring, a
guinea-gold ring,
He gave me a kiss and a guinea-gold ring, in a cold and frosty
morning.”

The whole company then dance very fast, Mary having joined the
ring, singing—

“Ruffles up and ruffles down
And ruffles all Matanzie,
As I went up to Mistress Brown
To seek the loan of her frying-pan.
Wha was there but the guid, guid wife
Kissing the guid, guid man.”

The above is a variant of “Bonnie Bunch o’ Roses,” p. 61.

Both in Lochaber and the Outer Hebrides the above game is
played with a slight variation. Two are chosen to be out and
represent ‘Maggie’ and a companion, the others stand in a row,

the two on the right of the line represent Maggie's father and mother. Maggie standing before the rest with her companion covers her face with her apron and pretends to weep. The line advancing and retiring sing—

"O what is Maggie weeping for, etc.,
The cook of frosty morning."

Her companion explains because she wants to see her lad, etc., "the cook of frosty morning." Maggie asks the two parents, "Father and mother may I go, etc.?" and the father and mother, supported by the rest of the line, give her permission. "Yes, my darling, etc.," and the companion then sings,

"Knock about your tails and away you go, etc.,
The cook of frosty morning."

All but Maggie and the companion run away, Maggie pursues, and the one she 'tigs' becomes 'companion,' and the former companion plays 'Maggie.'

COCK-FIGHTING.

(P. 87, after line 26.)

An old man from the Highlands of Aberdeenshire of which he was a native, and now (1902) over eighty years of age, tells us that Cock-fighting as a school ploy at Shrovetide was well within his recollection.

"We yees'd tae hae cockfechtin' on 'Brosie'. When I wuz at the skule, I hae seen as mony as a score tae'n tae the skule that day, an' we daurna tak yin that wasna oor ain, nor yin that wasna brocht up on oor ain biggin. The best fechter as shune as it beat yin had anither pit doon till't, an' the cocks that widna fecht, the maister got. The yin that had the cock that focht best wus King."

CONCEALED OBJECT RECOVERING.

(P. 89, after line 19.)

Hunt the Slipper

Is played in some places under the name of "Shuffle the Brogue," the players sitting very close together, keeping their

hands under their knees, the brogue not being necessarily a slipper but some object recognized beforehand.

(P. 90, after line 14.)

In other places this is called "Smuggle the Geggie" and "Smuggle Eerie" modified as a girl's game. In the former case the 'geggie' must not be transferred from one to the other and the method of recovery is by asking "Geggie or no geggie?" the player being bound to answer "yes" or "no." If she answers in the affirmative, she gives up the object, and the players change sides. If she answers "No," she stands aside for the rest of the game, while the proper holder may have managed to get it into the 'den.' This form of the game is sometimes played by boys.

In the latter case a leading player takes, or pretends to take, something, a chuckie stone, a little earth, in her hand, and holding it out to another asks, "Something or nothing?" The one answers, and if she is correct the one who put the question becomes 'Hut'; if the answer is wrong, she becomes 'Hut.' All then stand in a close ring round 'Hut,' holding their hands behind them, one of them having a 'geg,' which it is the duty of 'Hut' to secure while it is being passed from one to the other. When 'Hut' pounces upon the one in whose possession it is they change places for the next game.

(P. 91, after line 20.)

Three Beggars Three

Seems a variant of the above. Three stand in front of the other players who are in a line with one of the party hidden behind them, crouching low, the others extending their skirts to hide her. The three advance in front singing—

"Here's three beggars three by three,
Down by the door they bend their knee,
Can we get lodgings here?"

Those in the row reply together "No," and the beggars retire. This is repeated twice more, but on the third occasion the beggars do not retire but proceed to search behind the row, when they apparently discover the one hidden, whom they take with them.

Another of the row is hidden and the same process as before is repeated, only of course the four sing—

"Here's four beggars four by four, etc." It then goes on to "Here's five beggars, etc.," and so on, till the whole party are members of the begging fraternity.

(P. 92, after line 4.)

The variant of this, "Hunt the Thimble," is played with one searcher, the remainder of the party being conscious of where the thimble is placed, which ought to combine invisibility and ease of being recovered. The "Hot" and "Cold" assistance is given the searcher. If she ultimately fails to find the thimble, she sits down on the floor and takes no further part in the game, another being sent out till the thimble is again hidden.

Up Jinkers.

The players are divided into two equal parties and sit at a table, the sides facing each other, with the palms of both hands on the table. Below the hand of a player of one of the sides is a coin or button, and the other side have to guess under whose hand it is. They hold a whispered consultation, and having come to some agreement, the one suspected of having the button is told "hands up." If the button is found, that counts one to the guessing side and they have then to conceal it, while if the button is not found where it was supposed to be, the side holding it score one and continue in its possession. The side that first scores an agreed on number of successes, wins.

Hop, Hop.

A boys' game. One is chosen to be *Hut*. The others playing having put stones in their bonnets and concealed them in various places, while *Hut* has to keep his eyes shut. The others then cry—

"Hop, hop, harry the nest,
Kill the birds and eat the flesh."

Hut then opens his eyes and must find all the bonnets. When he has done so, the one whose bonnet he first found becomes *Hut*.

Recovering an object concealed on the person of one of an assembled company is practised by means of the following trick.

Two are working in conjunction. One of these undertakes to tell to whom a knife, say, is given by the other while he is out of the room. The challenger retires, the knife is handed by his accomplice, who then recalls the challenger, who then proceeds to examine the others as if looking for indications he requires to notice, to come to a correct conclusion. During this examination the one who handed the knife interrupts with remarks such as: "I did not give it to you." "It was not to you I gave it." After a pause "and I did not give it to you." The challenger notices this and waits for his own time to say to the person sitting on the right of the one last addressed by his accomplice, "You have the knife," it having been agreed on that the conjunction *and* will be addressed to the person sitting on the left of the one who has the knife.

If a company can induce one of their number to undertake to guess what something in the room agreed on by the other players is, he is asked to retire till "it" is fixed on. This being done, the guesser returns and commences questioning the others for indications. But it having been arranged that "it" is the person sitting on the left of the one being questioned at the moment, and the questioner must not ask only one person, generally speaking the answers become so contradictory that it is impossible for the questioner to say that any individual thing is "it."

COUNTING OUT RHYME.

(P. 102, after line 5.)

In addition to the counting-out rhymes detailed in the Appendix, p. 248, we have the following from Barra—

"Gille beag 's cota donn
Feile-goitrid os a chionn,
Sud an rud a thogadh fonn,
Biodag Dhomhnuill mhic Alasdair."

Little lad and brown coat/A short kilt above him,/That's the
thing would raise desire (carnal) (tune)/Donald MacAlister's
dirk.

(See p. 96 for a translation.)

From Kintyre

"Oneerie, twoerie, dickerie Davy,
Haligo Mary, tenery lavie,
Pin pan whisky dan,
Tiddleum toddleum twenty-one."

"Ennerie annerie sirteri sannerie,
Draps o' vinegar now begun,
Eat aat moose fat,
Oarrie diddle,
Play the fiddle,
Tike Bo Bizz."

A variant, see "Games" 230.

"Eenerty, feenerty, fickerty, feg,
El, del, domin, egg,
Irkie, birkie, storie rock,
An, tan, toosy Jock:
Toose oot, toose in,
Toose about the river pin,
Black fish, white troot,
Gibbie la, you're oot."

Used in Uist—

"Tic, tac, toe, round we go,
Turn the ship and away she goes."

DANCING.

(P. 113, after line 3.)

We have information from a woman, for some considerable time in the island of St. Kilda, who had seen the Buck Dance (p. 103) performed there in the same figure as that of a reel; we understand a foursome reel. In Uist, however, the girls playing crouch down, their hands in front of them, with the fingers interlaced, and leap round in a circle. There was recently in Kintyre an old man who danced what he called the "Reel of the Ducks," "Ruidhil nan tunntag," commencing with the following port—

"Seinn am Boradag,
Damhs am Boradag."

Sing the Boradag, / Dance the Boradag. He would then drop on one knee, spring up, and down again on the other knee, and

rising again, the motions being performed very swiftly. He would wheel about singing—

"Thoir ruidhil do'n choileach dubh.

Damhsaidh sinn na tunnagan."

(Give a reel to the blackcock./We will dance the ducks.)

It will be noticed that this is a solo performance, though called a reel by the performer, who claims that he is now the only man in Kintyre who can do it.

Another hunkering dance is called

Am Fac thu Fiadh riomh? (Did you ever see a Deer?)

This is a girl's game found in Lorn. They crouch down, with their hands between their calves and their haunches, the fingers interlaced. One commences: "Am fac thu fiadh riomh?" The others replied: "Chunnaic." The first speaker rejoins, "Agus gu de dheannadh e?" to which the reply was, "Ruitheadh e, 'us roideadh e, 'us leumadh e, 'us sheasadh e air cnoc, 'us dh'amhairceadh e." "Agus am fac thu Mairi nighean Alasdair?" "Chunnaic, 'us Mairi nighean Sheumais. Chunnaic mi Mairi nighean Alasdair 's iad a' mireadh ri cheile." (Have you ever seen a deer? I have seen (a deer). And what would it do? It would run, and it would race, and it would jump, and it would stand on a hillock and it would look. And have you seen Mary Alexander's daughter? I have seen (Mary Macalister) and Mary James' daughter. I have seen Mary Alexander's daughter and them playing together. (Flirting, wanton play.) At this stage the players, retaining their position, commence to dance, singing at the same time—

"Punnd 'us plang 'us neapaicean sìoda

'Us pios do chantair an dannsaidh."

(A pound, and a plack, and a silk napkin,/And a piece to the chanter of the dance.)

In Luing an old woman explained that this game had come down from the Druids who, as well as the money, etc., mentioned in the last two lines, claimed as theirs the blankets in which a person died. A pound was also due to the Druids from the estate on the death of the head of a house. We have in this evidently a recollection of the corpse-present, mortuary, or head-money, paid to the clergy at the time of a death. The statement

that the clergy claimed the blankets on which a person had died, we suggest, had arisen from some such misconception as that expressed by Bishop Meryk when he wrote of the Manx women that they "never went abroad but with a winding-sheet about them to mind them of their mortality," (Tain's *History of the Isle of Man*, ii., 105), corpses doubtless being buried in the plaid which they had worn in daily life.

The same hunkering dance from Barra, the girls with their hands behind their calves and before their thighs hop about singing—

" Cruinn, geard, sgiobalta,
Cruinn, sgiobalta, gleusta,
Am fac' thu Anna nighean Alasdair?
Chunnaic, 's Anna nighean Sheumais.
'Sann aig tobar nam Ban-naomh,
A' ruith 's a' lasadh ri cheille."

Round, guard, active,/Round, active, eager,/Have you seen Anna, Alexander's daughter?/Yes, and Anna, James' daughter,/It was at the Nun's well,/Running and lusting together.

Other names of Highland dances are, Fear Dhrum a' Chairi, Dannelsadh nam boc (buck dance), Figh an gun (Weave the gown), and Croit an Droigheann (Thorny croft). Some description of these is to be found in the *Grampians Desolate*, by Alexander Campbell. (Quoted from *Celtic Monthly* cutting.)

Calluinn Hogmanay, the calends of January, New Year's Day.

This is among the Highlanders a high festival, one upon which they exercise considerable hospitality to those who visit them. Popularly the name for New Year "Calluinn" is connected with the word "callan," 'shout, a noise,' because the visitors, generally the young people of a country-side, go round among their friends and neighbours and call attention to their presence on that occasion by various noises, whacking the walls with their shinties, banging a dry skin, carried by one of the party, with sticks, and singing various rhymes requesting their Hogmanay gifts, of eatables principally. This is not a custom peculiar to the Gael, it existed quite recently, at any rate in Brittany, where the name Calannet was applied to the "recompense" given to the visitors. There are phallic reminiscences in the observance

of this festival. A strip of the wool, skin, and flesh from the breast of a sheep is carried round by the party after being singed, and is presented to the inmates of the houses visited to be smelt, as a protection against injury it is said. But this is a religious festival evidently, and must be treated like Hallowe'en and Bealltuin (May-day).

An interesting thing connected with its observance is to find in Perthshire what is evidently a small remnant of a Mumming Play, which took the part of the stick thwacking, common in other districts to announce the visitor's presence. The performance was described as follows by one who had often in his boyhood taken part in it.

One was chosen to be the "Doctor," the others, divided into two parties, were each provided with a lath sword. On arriving at a door these guisers, guizards, standing opposite each other, recited—

"Here comes I Golossians, Golossians is my name,
A sword and pistol by my side, I hope to gain the game."

To this was answered—

"The game, Sir, the game, Sir, is not into your power,
For I'll slay you down in inches, in less than half an hour."

A sham fight ensued, and one of the combatants, pretending to have been wounded, fell to the ground and was immediately attended to by the "Doctor," the others leaving off fighting, and singing—

"Here comes little Doctor Brown,
The best little doctor in the town.
Gie's oor carol an' let us run,
Gie's oor carol an' let us run."

The actors were then rewarded by such Hogmanay gifts as the guid-wife found in her heart to bestow on them, and then passed on to another house to repeat the ceremony.

We give the "Hogmanay Drame of Golishan, as it used to be said, sung, and acted all over Scotland, from Cheviot to Cape Wrath," on the authority of J. F. L., as communicated to the *Scotsman* of 31st Dec., 1902.

THE NEW-YEAR MUMMER'S TALE OF GOLISHAN.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) BOL BENDO. | (4) DOCTOR BEELZEBUB. |
| (2) KING OF FRANCE. | (5) GOLISHAN. |
| (3) KING OF SPAIN. | (6) SIR ALEXANDER. |

PROLOGUE (*sung on the threshold*).

Hogmanay!
 Trollolay!
 Gie us o' your white bread,
 And nane o' your grey.
 Oor shoon's made o' mare's skin,
 Come, open the door and let's in;
 Redd up stocks, and redd up stools,
 Here come in a pack of fools.

(*Enter BOL BENDO, winding a horn. Two KINGS follow shortly after with PAGES.*)

BOL BENDO.

I am Bol Bendo. Who are you?

KING OF FRANCE.

I am here, the King of France,
 Come for a battle to advance.

KING OF SPAIN.

I am here, the King of Spain,
 Come for a battle to maintain.

(*Enter SIR ALEXANDER, singing.*)

Silence! Silence! Gentlemen,

Upon me cast an eye,
 My name's Sir Alexander,
 I'll sing you a tragedy.

Four of us there are,
 And merry boys are we;
 And we are going a-rambling
 Your houses for to see.

Your houses for to see,
And some pleasure for to have :
And what you freely wish to give,
We freely will receive.

The first that I call in
He is Golishan bold,
He fought the battle of Quebec
For sixty pounds of gold.

(Enter GOLISHAN, armed with sword and pistol.)

GOLISHAN.

In come I, Golishan ; Golishan of renown,
A sword and pistol by my side, I hope to win the crown.

BOL BENDO.

The crown, sir ! The crown, sir !
It's not within your power.
I'll draw my sword behind my back,
And stab you with my spear.

GOLISHAN.

My head is made of fire, sir ;
My body is well steeled,
And with my bloody weapon
I'll slay you on the field.

SIR ALEXANDER *(aside)*.

Here are two champions going to fight
Who never fought before,
I'm not going to separate them,
Pray, what could I do more.
Fight on, fight on, my merry boys ;
Fight on, fight on with speed,
I'll give any man a thousand crowns
To lay Golishan dead.

*(A clash of swords follows, till at last GOLISHAN falls
down and dies.)*

SIR ALEXANDER (*rushing forward*).

O ! what is this ? O ! what is this ?
O ! what is this you've done ?
You have slain Golishan,
And on the ground he's laid.

BOL BENDO.

If I have slain Golishan,
Golishan I will cure ;
And I will make him rise and sing,
In less than half an hour.

(BOL BENDO *calls loudly for a doctor. After an interval, enters*
DR. BEELZEBUB, *his face blackened, and carrying a club over*
his shoulder.)

DOCTOR.

Here come I, old Hector Protector,
The Devil's own picture,
Sheepskins and camel's hair,
If you don't give me all your money,
I'll carry you all to your graves.

SIR ALEXANDER.

How far have you travelled ?

DOCTOR.

From hickerty pickerty hedgehog.
Three times round the West Indies,
And back to old Scotland.

SIR ALEXANDER.

What have you seen on your travels ?

DOCTOR.

I've seen geese going on pattens,
And mice eating rattens.

BOL BENDO.

What can you cure ?

DOCTOR.

I can cure the gout, the scur, and the kinkhost.

BOL BENDO.

What will you take to cure this dead man ?

DOCTOR.

Nine pounds and a bottle of wine.

BOL BENDO.

I'll give you six.

DOCTOR.

Six won't do.

BOL BENDO.

Will eight?

DOCTOR.

Perhaps it may,
For I've a little bottle by my side,
They call it Hoxo Croxy.
I'll touch his eyes, nose, mouth, and chin,
And say, "Rise up, dead man," and he'll fight again.

(The DOCTOR kneels down by the side of the dead man and administers a pinch of snuff. The dead man sneezes, revives, and sits up.)

GOLISHAN (*sings*).

Once I was dead,
But now I am alive,
And blessed be the hand
That made me to revive.

EPILOGUE.

(All join hands and sing in chorus.)

This night is called Hogmanay,
We wish you all good cheer,
With as many guineas in the house
As days are in the year.
And bless the master of this house,
The mistress also,
And all the bonnie bairnies
That round the table go.

Get up, guid wife, and binna sweir
 Tae deal yer bread to them that's puir,
 For the time will come that ye'll be dead,
 And then ye'll neither need ale nor bread.

Get up, guid wife, and shake yer feathers,
 And dinna think that we are beggars,
 For we are bairns come oot to play,
 Get up and gie's oor Hogmanay.

Oor feet's cauld, oor shoon's thin,
 Gie's oor cakes, and let's rin.

FINGER-NAMES.

(P. 115, after line 16.)

A correspondent informs us that the fourth line of the version current where he was brought up, was "This is the man that tell't on a'," the rest of it being identical with the second version on page 113. This fact was turned to use in the language of signs among the school-children, who, when desirous of applying the term *clype* (tell-tale) to a companion when it was inadvisable to say it aloud, they folded the other fingers into the palm and held up the third finger, suggesting in some other way who was indicated. Attention was also called to the fact that "paid for a" did not refer to a money payment but to suffering for the misdeeds of the others mentioned. *Pais* (it is not possible to indicate the pronunciation) is a common word for chastisement, strokes, evidently connected with the idea of recompense.

In Barra the finger names are

Ordag.
 Gileabag.
 Gunna fada.
 Mhic an Aba.
 Ludag bheag an airgeid.

Hammer/Chisel/Long gun/Of the Abbot's son/Little Silver finger.

The ordinary way of amusing an infant explains the meaning of these finger-names. The nurse, or mother, holding the left hand of the infant, commencing by touching with her own forefinger the

point of the child's thumb and the other fingers in succession, naming them as above; she comes back to the thumb, and turning it down in the palm of the hand, she says, "*Cuiridh mi ord foidhpe sin*" (I will put a hammer under that). She then turns down the forefinger and says, "*Cuiridh mi gileab foidhpe sin*" (I will put a chisel under that). Then comes the turn of the middle finger, "*Cuiridh mi gunna fada foidh sin*" (I will put a long gun under that). For the ring-finger she says, "*Cuiridh mi rud abaich foidh sin*" (I will put a ripe thing under that), and then the little finger, "*Cuiridh mi airgeid foidhpe sin*" (I will put silver (money) under that).

(P. 121, after line 17.)

Spin the Trencher.

This well-known game was played in Argyleshire. All sat with their backs to the wall but one, who, provided with a plate, stood in the centre. The plate was set spinning on its edge, the one who did so calling the name of one of the others who had to catch it before it ceased spinning. This continued, each spinner choosing his own successor. Any one missing to catch the plate in time paid a forfeit, the one who had spun him out calling out another.

There were, of course, traditional methods of freeing the forfeits paid, but quite a free field was given to the blindfold person fixed on to order the punishments. A favourite traditional method, however, was to order the one who had paid the forfeit to be blindfolded. Something then was held over his back, the holder saying, "*Truime, truime, 'n ordag, de sin os do cheann?*" (Weight, weight of a hammer, what is that over your head?) If the answer was right the pledge was released, if it was wrong the thing, whatever it was, was placed on the bearer's back, and the point of the joke was to try and crush the bearer under the weight of things piled upon him.

FUNERAL GAMES.

(P. 124, after line 29.)

In a variant of the above "*Genisis*" becomes "*Georgina*":

"Ladies and gentlemen come to see Georgina, Georgina, Georgina,"

as above. Georgina's mother says, "She is worse, you cannot see her to-day." The others retire singing

"We are very sorry to hear it,— (Repeat three times.)
We wish you a good day."

On the next advance Georgina is said to be dead, and the verse, "We are very sorry, etc.," repeated. Someone gives a resounding blow, and the row of players, pretending fear, say, "Mother, mother, what's that?" The mother answers, "The cat in the cupboard." The knock is repeated, and the row cry in terror, "Mother, mother, what's that?" The answer to which is, "The boys down by." Again the knock and query, the answer being by the mother, "Georgina's ghost." All then hurriedly disperse, followed by Georgina, who tries to capture a successor.

GAMBLING.

(P. 125, after line 33.)

In Kintyre, instead of the letter P, the Teetotum carried a D. The consecutive order of play was fixed by a counting-out rhyme; the whole then deposited in a common heap their stakes, it might be a button, a marble, etc. The results of each spin and the interpretation of the letter which came upmost was—

D. Interpreted by the phrase "Duntare," and the person who spun had to add a stake to the common stock.

A. Translated "(Tak) ane," and the common stock was reduced by one.

N. Translated by "Nickelty Naething," no change as far as stakes were concerned.

T. "Tak' a'," the lucky player bagging the lot.

The reciter of the above gave an amusing account of an experience of his own. A. MacL. was "rooked," but retiring for a short time, returned with apparently an unlimited supply of buttons, and not the usual bone or horn button, but bright nickel ones, the swapping value of which was one to three bone ones. Play was resumed, and how it ended history sayeth not. The following

day, however, MacL. senior, when dressing for church, was amazed to find his Sunday trousers entirely buttonless. It was easy to make a shrewd guess as to what happened between sire and son, the more so as for a long time thereafter A. MacL. avoided Teetotum for buttons religiously.

In Orkney, Teetotum is known by the name of "Catapult!"

NINE HOLES.

(P. 128, after line 3.)

Polly, Polly, what o'clock is 't?

Two play, a certain number—say fifty—being agreed on as game. One of the players marks down on his slate the figures from 1 to 12 inclusive, with a concealed figure, as described in "Na Figures." He—A—says to B, "Polly, Polly, what o'clock is 't?" B guesses one of the exposed figures, and if on A disclosing the concealed one it is found to be that guessed by B, B counts one, the slate is cleaned and he does as A did before. If B's guess is wrong, a stroke is drawn through the figure. A again conceals a number, any number up to 12, and repeats his question, "Polly, Polly, what o'clock is 't?" B again guesses, and if wrong, the figure is stroked through, and this process is continued till B guesses aright, when he scores 1 as if he had been right in his answer to A's first question, but A adds up B's failures as marked out, and the total is put to his credit. Thus they play alternately till one of them can show a total of 50.

HANDCLAPPING.

(P. 131, bottom of the page.)

In some places a line is added to the above rhyme—

"like a *pain* across my back"

"*Poc is one, poc is two, poc is mine over you.*"

Jolly Sailors

Is a game in which hand-clapping plays a part. A ring is formed round one of the girls who stands in the centre.

She sings in a subdued tone, and with the appearance of sadness—

"Broken-hearted, I wander at the thought of my love,
He's a jolly, jolly sailor and to the war he's gone.
If I had the wings of angels I would know where to fly,
Over hills and valleys where my true love did die."

Those in the ring now let go each other's hands and commence hand-clapping, shouting the while—

"Hurrah for the pots and pans,
Hurrah for the man that made them,
Hurrah for the pots and pans,
I wish the war was over."

HEN AND CHICKENS.

(P. 132, at bottom of the page.)

In North Uist the above game is called "Cearc 'us iseanan," and the "Madadh ruadh" is addressed by the 'hen,' "De tha thu ag iarraidh an diugh," to which he replies, "Tha mi ag iarraidh te dheth na iseanan," and the hen's reply is, "Cha'n fhaigh thu sin an diugh." (What are you seeking to-day?/I am seeking one of the young birds./You won't get that to-day.)

It is also played in Lorn under the name of "Cripple Chirsty." Chirsty comes limping forward leaning on a stick, and the hen addresses her, "Hey, Cripple Chirsty, what do you want with me to-day?" "A beck and a bow and I would thank you for your eldest daughter." The hen gives her the curtsy and bow, but refuses to give up her eldest daughter, and then the attack is made, the game going on as described above.

When the game is played as "Fox and Sheep," the usual formula recited by the latter at Ardrishaig was "Da roan, da roan, da roan, da ring, thig am madadh ruadh am maireach agus bheir e leis a' chaor is fearr tha againn." (Da roan, da ring, the fox will come to-morrow and he will take with him the best sheep we have.)

When played as "The Theft of the Kids" (Goid nam meann), the leader of the 'kids' is called the "Fiadh" (deer), and it is a 'wolf' (madadh alluidh) which comes stealthily glancing along

the line and says to the last player of it, "Am bocan beag tha air dheireadh, 's an air a tha mo mhiann. Bi maragan air mo mhias an nochd." (The little buck that is last, it is on him my desire is. There will be puddings on my plate to-night.) To this the Fiadh replies: "Ma bhios, cha'n fhaigh thun 'n so iad." (If they will be, you will not get them here.) The 'wolf' then tries to separate the last of the row. This is the way the game is played in Coll.

R. C. MACLAGAN.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

ALL-FATHERS IN AUSTRALIA.

In *Folk-Lore* for March (p. 105) Mr. Hartland observes that, applying my theory of early religion to Australia, "it was contended that Bunjil of the Wotjoballuk, Mungan ngaua of the Kurnai, Baiame of the Kamilaroi, Daramulun of the Coast Murring, and the corresponding mythical personages of other tribes, were to be identified with this relatively Supreme Being. Now, if the identification were correct and the theory well-based, we should expect to find that the most backward tribes had the most fully developed belief in, and the clearest conception of, the Supreme Being in question. But this, so far as has been ascertained, is the direct reverse of the fact. The area of belief in this important Being seems to be confined to the south-east. The tribes which hold it are precisely those in which the greatest advance has been in social organization. Among them group-marriage (or what look like more or less lively survivals of group-marriage) has given way to individual marriage, descent in the female line has been replaced by that in the male line, the primitive organization under the class system has been abandoned, or is in process of being abandoned, for organization based on locality, and the most cruel and outrageous practices at initiation are unknown. If it be contended that, save in the last particular, the Arunta fairly answer to this description, I hasten to add that the Arunta present striking evidence in support of Mr. Howitt's case. While they and their neighbours do know of the existence of certain shadowy beings called Twanyirika, Atnatu, and so forth, they have evolved the belief to a very slight extent; and in

spite of very careful search Messrs. Spencer and Gillen were quite unable to find anything like even the rudimentary moral character of Baiame or Daramulun attributed to them."

In this passage Mr. Hartland closely follows the generalization of Mr. Howitt in his *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pages 500-506. But Mr. Howitt's statement here does not agree with his own account of the social organization of these South-Eastern tribes. The majority of them are in the more primitive form of social organization, having (1) female reckoning of descent without "matrimonial" classes, or (2) female reckoning with four, not as in the North and Centre, eight matrimonial classes. Of the former type, the large and important "Barkinji" nation, and all tribes with the phratry names Kilpara and Mukwara, are the leading examples. The second type is represented by the no less large and important Kamilaroi "nation," with Dilbi and Kupathin phratry names, and by the Euahlayi with other phratry names, and with Kamilaroi names for the matrimonial classes. These tribes combine female descent with the All-Father belief, which was also held by the Kurnai and other South-Eastern tribes with male reckoning, and with totems and classes obliterated or faintly surviving. On the other hand it is among Northern and Central tribes with male descent and "organization based on locality" that Messrs. Spencer and Gillen find the All-Father belief weakest or absent. On this point there is a good deal to be said, but the Atnatu of the Kaitish (neighbours of the Arunta), the being who "made himself," "made the Alcheringa," gave the blacks "all that they possess," instituted rites, and expelled mankind from his sky-world for disobedience, is not "a shadowy being" like the Twanyirika of the Arunta, a confessed bugbear like the African Mumbo Jumbo. We are here on the ground of facts carefully recorded, though strangely overlooked, by Mr. Howitt in the passages summarized by Mr. Hartland. As to "group marriage" among these South-Eastern tribes, the only thing known to me which can be called "group marriage" is the Dieri and Urabunna *pirrauru*, and that, I think, is a "sport" confined to tribes with the *Kararu Matteri* phratry names; and in my opinion it is a late and special modification of individual marriage. Thus a number of tribes with the All-Father belief, and with female kin,

have not "abandoned the class system for organization based on locality." With female kin they cannot do so.

"The most cruel and outrageous practices at initiation are unknown" to South-Eastern tribes with the All-Father belief. But this does not prove that such rites have been dropped by them. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen indicate more than once their belief, which is mine, that the South-Eastern rites are the most pristine, and that the more ferocious rites of the North and Centre are later additions to these. They are unpleasant examples of social advance. Thus the All-Father belief, though a socially advanced tribe may hold it, is, in Australia, very conspicuous among tribes so archaic as to reckon descent as on the spindle side; and so *arriérés* as not to have developed the more outrageous rites and *Intichiuma*.

In associating the All-Father belief, causally, with advance in social organization, Mr. Howitt has overlooked his own valuable collection of social facts. Any one who wishes to verify my remarks has only to look up "All-Father" in Mr. Howitt's Index, and then compare his account of the social condition of tribes with an All-Father. The belief is common to most both of the more and less socially advanced tribes of the South-East: and is reported as absent among almost all the socially advanced Northern and Central tribes with local organization. In my opinion they have almost sloughed off the belief, not because they are socially advanced, but for a totally different reason.

May I add that in reviewing the accounts of Fan belief by Messrs. Allégret and Nassau, in *Folk-Lore* for March, I omitted to mention the similar statements as to Angambi (Nyambe), the Fan-Father (*Tata*) who "made all things" (*a bo mam merere*), published by Dr. Bennett in *J.A.I.*, (N.S. 1. 2, p. 85). I do not know whether Dr. Bennett is or is not a missionary.

A. LANG.

MYSTERIOUS SMOKE.

(Vol. XV. p. 245).

In my parish, Cadney, Lincolnshire, a peat bank, near a drain, was fired by a thrown-away match in August, 1902. It

burned, making thin smoke, till the fire was put out by the heavy rains of October, 1903. Unless you dug down to find the red-hot peat it was invisible, except during gales, when the light peat-ashes were blown away. Then for a few minutes at a time there would be a burst of flame.

Another such fire in my parish, also on ground drained and kept dry by a watercourse, burned for years, till it was finally trenched out by cutting a narrow ditch all round it down to the wet peat. I never saw the flame in this case, and the smoke was so thin that it was only visible on damp or foggy nights. The smell of burning peat was to be detected summer and winter.

E. A. WOODRUFFE PEACOCK.

MOCK BURIAL.

(Vol. XV. p. 347.)

In the year 1875 or 1876 several of my brother's children had whooping-cough. We were living at Adisham, a small village in East Kent. I was talking one day to the village "Gamp," who, after much hesitation and deprecation, told me she knew how the children could be cured. I was to bury a baker's loaf in the churchyard, leave it there one night, and then give it to them to eat.

EVELYN VILLIERS.

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REVIEWS.

TABOU ET TOTÉMISME À MADAGASCAR : ÉTUDE DESCRIPTIVE ET THÉORIQUE. Par ARNOLD VAN GENNEP. Paris : E. Leroux, 1904.

THE advantage, and indeed the necessity, for scientific purposes, of selecting for detailed analysis and description a group of rites practised in a well-defined area could not be better illustrated than by the present work. There is a besetting temptation to generalise on data which are at best imperfect; and generalisation founded on imperfect data can only result in conclusions unstable and probably misleading. The critic, therefore, who brings together and analyses the evidence as to any definite group of rites and institutions of a people, putting them into relation with the civilisation and mental atmosphere in which they have grown up, performs a signal service to research. Such a critic will test the strength of the evidence both as to quantity and quality. His labours, if conscientiously performed, will define for the student at home what is really known on the subject, and will indicate the direction to be taken by the explorer in the field. Mr. Farnell, in his work on *The Cults of the Greek States*, has performed this kind of service in one important province of enquiry. And now M. van Gennep has utilised the opportunity given to scientific men in France by the occupation of Madagascar to examine critically in the light of anthropological theories a prominent institution of the natives of that island.

After an introduction, in which the author rightly rejects the theories of Christian missionaries and others as to the original

monotheism of the Malagasy, and as to the borrowing, either from Jewish or Arab sources, of their religious ideas, and insists on the importance of exact scientific enquiry, he passes on to discuss the Malagasy notion of taboo. The native word is *fady*. In the course of a careful analysis it is compared with words of similar meaning in other tongues and with its Malagasy correlatives, especially *tohina* and *hasinia*, which signify respectively *contagion* and *power*. The conclusion arrived at is that in the last analysis the true sense of *fady* is *dangerous*, all the other senses of *prohibited*, *unlucky*, *ill-omened*, and so forth being derivatives. M. van Gennep then proceeds to enquire why an act is considered dangerous, and why everyone agrees to consider it so. He insists on the social character of taboo, discusses its force and its sanctions. He shows that the sanctions are for the most part supernatural, and consequently that the root-idea of *fady* is religious. In the religious sense, and particularly in regard to the cult of ancestors or to the customs they established, it is that an act is primarily dangerous. The juridical value of a prohibition is the result of evolution, and is not original.

A review is then undertaken of the details of Malagasy taboos, so far as they are known. Taboos of the abnormal, the new, and the strange; taboos of the sick, and of the dead; taboos of the chief; clan, caste, and class taboos; sexual taboos; taboos of children, and family taboos; taboos of property; taboos of place and of time occupy successive chapters. The author then discusses at length animal and vegetable taboos. In connection with them he investigates the question of Malagasy totemism. Throughout the work he has occasion again and again to point out how defective our information is. It has been gathered in the first place by missionaries, and more recently by French officials and travellers, none of whom seem to have appreciated the points necessary to be observed and recorded. The accounts of Malagasy custom and belief which they have either formally drawn up, or which are to be gathered from their writings, are indeed priceless, because they are the only source, and in some respects a fairly full source, of information. But the point of view is not usually that of a

dispassionate and accurate observer; while many of the Englishmen wrote for a public whose chief interest was the spread of their own particular type of religion, and for whom details of heathen ceremonies were of interest only as they were grotesque, or as they emphasised the darkness of the Gentiles.

Especially is the lack of information to be deplored on the subject of the relation between the animal and vegetable taboos on the one hand, and the beliefs and social organisation of the people on the other. M. van Gennep has not thought it necessary to discuss at length the racial connections of the population, though a thorough examination of these would perhaps throw light upon the problems which are his subject. It may be said in general terms that the population is not quite homogeneous. The earliest inhabitants were probably of African race. They have been conquered and partly absorbed by peoples of Malayo-Polynesian descent, who now seem to form in blood as well as in culture the dominant race. There has been, besides, some Arab influence, chiefly upon the eastern shores of the island; but, as M. van Gennep shows, it is easy to overrate it. At the time of the discovery, and down to the French conquest in the latter part of the last century, the hegemony of the island was wielded by a tribe known as the Imerina or Hovas, occupying the central heights. The various tribal divisions may indicate some racial differences; but the language and civilisation are common to the whole island, subject to comparatively unimportant dialectal and local variations. The Malagasy are very far from being savages. They are ingenious and successful cultivators of rice. They have a number of settled towns, the most important of which, Antananarivo, the capital of the island, has a population stated by Mr. Sibree in 1879 at "above 100,000." They spin, weave, and make pottery. They hold regular markets, and are accomplished traders. The taboos which they practise, and of which they are to some extent the victims, have come down to them from ancient times, when doubtless the Malagasy were less advanced than they are now. Among such taboos are taboos against wounding, killing, or eating certain animals. The question is whether these are of totemistic origin. M. van Gennep has analysed the evidence

with much acuteness, and comes to the conclusion that there is in Madagascar no true totemism. The conclusion is probably correct. At the same time it is admittedly based to a large extent on the absence of exact information. For instance, when Dr. Catat, just before reaching the village of Sahasoa, belonging to the Betsimisaraka tribe, had killed a babakoto, or lemur (*Lichanotus brevicaudatus*), which he was about to skin, a score of the inhabitants of the village came crying out and accusing him of having killed one of their grandfathers in the forest. In the same way, among the Betsileo, Father Pagès killed a babakoto and was about to skin it, when his palanquin-bearers loudly clamoured and demanded the body of their relative, which he was compelled to hand over to them and which they buried with funeral honours and every sign of mourning at the next village. Now here is reason to suspect totemism. The animal is claimed as a relative by members of two distinct tribes; the person who kills it is regarded with anger; the body, in one case at all events, is solemnly interred like that of a clansman. What is wanting to complete the proof is information whether the mourners in these cases belonged to a single clan, and whether that clan bore the name of the babakoto. But, then, this is exactly what the traveller and the missionary who record the facts omitted to enquire.

It would be possible to adduce a large number of such cases. If only the observers had been acquainted with even the merest outlines of anthropological science, they would have been put upon enquiry again and again, and might easily have cleared away for us the doubts that arise in reading their reports. On the other hand, they have mentioned facts which are inconsistent with totemism as found in typical totemistic areas like Australia and North America. The clans (if they be really clans, for there is no scientific use of the words, clan, caste, class, family, and tribe) are not usually exogamous; nor are they usually named after the object tabooed; nor do they bear representations either upon the persons of the members, or carved or painted on their property, of the object tabooed. M. van Gennep says, moreover, there are no rites of initiation.

But he has overlooked the practice of circumcision, by which Sibree tells us, the children are said to be made "men," to be "consecrated" or "established." The ceremonies, like those of Australian initiation, were observed not for individual children, but every few years for the whole body of uncircumcised boys; they lasted several days; they were the occasion of great festivity. "It will be remarked," adds the missionary, after describing them, "how very important the ceremony is considered, from the numerous and minute observances which have grown up around it in the course of the centuries during which it has been celebrated by the Malagasy."¹ I think it may well be contended that in the Malagasy, especially the Hova, rites of circumcision, we have true initiation ceremonies, though probably in a decadent condition. The stage of civilisation, indeed, at which the Malagasy had arrived before the advent of Christianity was far beyond that in which totemism is dominant. It can only arise and attain full development in savagery. Consequently, the utmost we can expect to find in Madagascar is decay and more or less disconnected survivals.

M. van Gennep discusses the *fanany*, a worm, snake, or lizard, in which a deceased Betsileo is reincarnated. He decides that it is not a totem; and it is clear that in the full sense of the term he is right. But he suggests that it is either a totemic survival or a totem in process of formation, and expresses the opinion that either of these hypotheses is capable of being sustained. This, however, cannot be, for the reason just stated. If the *fanany* beliefs and practices have any relation to totemism, the relationship must be that of survival.

On the whole the study of the alimentary taboos, of the legends intended to explain them, and of the rites of all sorts addressed to animals, leads the author to the opinion, expressed with some hesitation, that besides animal-worship (some of it having an economic bearing) and the belief in reincarnation of the vital force, "an attenuated totemism" is found in the island. In order to be quite satisfied as to the original signification of the taboos, however, he suggests that it would be enough to undertake a direct enquiry in a few localities, taking into

¹ Sibree, *Great African Island*, pp. 217-221.

account the bonds of relationship which unite the individuals observing a given alimentary taboo and the legends concerning it. It would be possible then to essay an answer to the question whether the Malagasy on this point are "nearer to the Bantu or to the Malayo-Polynesian."

By the latter expression I understand him to admit that the Bantu were, or have been at a comparatively recent date, totemistic. He does me the honour, a few pages earlier, to cite and controvert the argument by which, in my presidential address to the Folk-lore Society in January, 1901, I sought to trace the evolution of totemism into ancestor-worship among the Bantu of South Africa. Having first proved the existence of remains of totemism among the various branches of the race, I sought for the path by which ancestor-worship had been reached. I found it in the growth of the patriarchal power, which had effaced the ties of mother-right and, acting upon the belief in transformation and impermanence of form, which is one of the elements of totemism, had ministered to the reverence accorded to a deceased chief, by enabling him to be recognised first in the form of the totem-animal and afterwards, as totemism slowly decayed, in some other form.

M. van Gennep denies my statement that a chief is not worshipped in his lifetime, and declares my argument to be ruined at its very basis, because it is easy to conceive the direct formation of a cult of deceased chiefs without the intervention of totemism. I did not, however, say that a chief was not worshipped, but that a father was not worshipped in his lifetime, the problem being how to account for the worship not of deceased chiefs but of ancestors. True, I treated the worship of deceased chiefs as being ancestor-worship on a larger scale, though I never suggested that the chief was regarded (as M. van Gennep seems to have understood me to do) literally as the father of his people, but only as being so "in a sense," that is, by analogy. No doubt, among some of the Bantu tribes the chief does receive in his lifetime the ascription of supernatural power, and what amounts to worship. If it be held a fair inference from my argument that this was denied, then I must admit that the reasoning of the address was insufficiently

guarded. But it is far from being "ruined at its basis." Easy as it may be to conceive the direct formation of a cult of deceased chiefs without the intervention of totemism, which I should at once concede, still that was not the problem. The problem was—Given the former existence of totemism as a fact, how did that totemism evolve into ancestor-worship, as now practised among the Bantu, including the worship of deceased chiefs?

M. van Gennep does not offer any alternative solution of this problem. My suggestion was that the belief of certain North American tribes was at one time a Bantu belief, namely, that after death a clansman was held to reappear in the form of the totem-animal, that as totemism decayed the reappearance in the form of the totem-animal would first tend to be confined to the chief, and that ultimately the limitation would be dropped and the reappearance of a dead man would assume any convenient form. This was confessedly "a mere hypothesis." "Nothing proves," says M. van Gennep, "that the chief, who is the lion-man in his lifetime, "is so again after death." Precisely; I never said it did. "The clan," he goes on, "is in need of a real, live lion-man, in whom its life may be incarnated. The lion-man dead, his successor becomes lion-man in his turn." Certainly. "What is the good, then," he asks, "of supposing that reincarnation in the lion is the chief's privilege, since the reincarnation is of no importance for the preservation of the society, for defence against the lion, for the success of the crops, or of a war, and so on?" I am by no means sure that the clansman would regard his deceased chief's reincarnation in the lion, if that were his totem-animal, as of no importance for some of these purposes, such as defence against the ravages of lions, or success in war. I rather think it might be regarded as very useful. As to such reincarnation being the chief's privilege, I only suggested that "he who was in his lifetime emphatically the lion-man, the crocodile-man, the porcupine-man, the elephant-man, the hippopotamus-man," for some such titles were as a fact given to the chiefs, "would longest preserve the totem-form after death, especially in cases where the totem was a beast to be dreaded for its size, physical

powers, and propensities to mischief." M. van Gennep may have good reason for thinking this unlikely, and he may be able to make some other suggestion which may help us to a more probable solution of the problem. At present, if I am right in supposing that he admits the totemism of the Bantu, I cannot think that his criticism of my hypothesis, without the presentation of another hypothesis in its place, does it much damage.

Of course I may be wrong in reading an admission of Bantu totemism into his words. But he certainly does not expressly challenge it. I grant at once, if he desire it, the term *sibokism* to the Bantu variety of totemism. The change of name will not affect the fact that the remains of the institution among the Bantu are in all essentials the same as among other peoples who possess what scientific men have agreed to call totemism, except that the totem-sacrifice, or communion has not yet been traced. It may be traced hereafter. If not, it will be for students to consider (a) what are the probabilities of its having once existed and having disappeared, and (b) whether it be so essential a part of totemism that totemism cannot properly be said to exist without it. Whatever the result, it will not matter for this purpose, for both M. van Gennep and I are referring to the Bantu institution (call it totemism or call it *sibokism*) which has issued in father-right and ancestor-worship.

I must apologise for this digression. It has, I trust, a scientific side of far more importance than the personal side. And the mention of father-right reminds me to observe that there are in Madagascar what look like survivals of mother-right. They should be carefully collected and examined. It is at least conceivable that they would result in diminishing the hesitation of M. van Gennep's conclusion as to the existence of Malagasy totemism, of course in a decayed, or, as he puts it, attenuated form.

With this final remark I commend the book to the perusal of all who are interested in the important problems of which it is an able, instructive, and learned discussion.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE MASAI, THEIR LANGUAGE AND FOLK-LORE. By A. C. HOLLIS, with Introduction by Sir Charles Eliot. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905, 8vo. Pp. xxxii. + 364. Price 14s. net.

THE author of this book is to be congratulated on the invention of a new method of dealing (anthropologically) with savage races. In the place of collecting material and giving it to the world in the ordinary way—as a compilation from notes on the customs, made at various times and places—he lets the natives describe themselves and their ideas in their own language, and gives a translation—sometimes interlinear, sometimes parallel to the Masai text. The plan is an excellent one, especially in the case of a people whose language is so little known as the Masai. At the same time it naturally demands far more space than the ordinary system, and can hardly be applied where there is much material.

The Masai occupy what is known as the Rift Valley; they have as neighbours the Hamitic Gallas and Somali; various Bantu stocks; and the extremely confused Nilotic tribes. The Masai proper are nomadic, but a section of the tribe subsists by agriculture; the latter was formerly more important, but the last century saw the annihilation of large numbers of the settled population, as a result of a conflict with their nomadic brethren. Sir C. Eliot and others hold that the Masai are a cross between Hamitic and Nilotic stocks; the physical evidence seems to favour this hypothesis, and the language indicates a close connection with the Latuka, to whom Baker ascribes on physical grounds a Galla origin. In any case it is certain that the Masai came from the north, and have been exposed to Abyssinian, and, it may be, Egyptian influence.

Mr. Hollis opens with an account of Masai grammar (pp. 1-102); then follow stories (103-237), proverbs and sayings (238-252), and riddles (253-259); the fourth part opens with an account of the tribal divisions of the Masai (260-263); then follow myths and traditions (264-281) and finally customs (282-356). Of the Märchen about one-third are concerned with animals and one is explicative of the custom of free love prevalent among the Masai. But the main interest naturally lies in the myths and customs.

The Masai views on religion, as depicted by Mr. Hollis, are not specially remarkable. Various names are used for God, the commonest be *eng-ai* (pl. *eng-aitin*); prayers are offered to him; this term is however rather the equivalent of the Algonquin *manito*, for it is applied to natural phenomena such as rain or volcanoes, to the sky and to any remarkable objects; in fact it is impersonal and can only occasionally be translated "divine" or "god." In one myth we have an account of two gods, one red (*en-nanyokye*), the other black (*narok*); the former of these is malevolent, while the latter, who is nearer mankind, endeavours to do good. A myth of origin (p. 266), speaks of only one God (probably *engai narok*), who is here rather a demi-urge than a Creator; the story explains how the Wandorobo, the hunting and nomadic neighbours of the Masai, lost their cattle and how *eng-ai* gave to the Masai all the cattle in the world, which justifies them in seizing the herds of any one who cannot protect himself. The same story is told (p. 270) of Naiteru-kop, another demi-urge; this seems to indicate that the Masai theology is far from settled. The remainder of the myths are mainly concerned with astronomy and physical phenomena. One item in the Masai creed is the belief in ancestral snakes. Like the Betsileo, they hold that while the poor are simply snuffed out, the soul of a rich man or magician turns into a snake, which is respected on that account; but the interesting point is that though there is no suggestion of totemism among the Masai, each clan has its own special snake, which is respected by that clan alone; membership of the clan is determined by descent and each clan has special marks (these are depicted by Merker, to whom reference is made below); there is no rule of clan exogamy, but sub-clan exogamy is insisted on to the extent of prohibiting intermarriage between two sub-clans of the same district. The blacksmiths belong mainly to the Kipugoni clan and practice endogamy; apparently this is owing to an objection on the part of the other clans to intermarry with them, which may be due, like the Japanese dislike to intermarriage with certain families, to a belief in their magical powers; it will be remembered that to the Boudas of Abyssinia is attributed a power of transforming themselves into hyenas; Nachtigal too has recorded

among the Sahara negroes an objection to intermarriage with blacksmiths.

A considerable amount of controversy has been aroused by another work on the Masai, mentioned above, by Captain Merker¹ who holds that they are of Semitic origin and have preserved a number of cosmogonic and other myths, bearing a close resemblance to those of the book of Genesis, but in some points more closely allied to the Babylonian form of the story. Unfortunately Merker has given us no definite information as to the persons from whom he obtained his accounts beyond the fact that they were the older men of the tribe, nor yet whether any were obtained through an interpreter or not. It is true we learn from the preface that a presumably competent Masai scholar has verified the narratives and the hypothesis of a mystification may therefore be dismissed. We cannot, however, overlook two other possibilities; (1) that the Masai derived them from missionaries in the hard times of the cattle plague; (2) that in more remote times they came in contact with non-European Christians, (the Abyssinians are their near neighbours), or Mohammedans. One thing is certain and that is that Merker's account shows far more traces of foreign influence than Hollis's. Take for example the account of 'Ngai (*eng-ai*); Merker describes him as Creator of the world, omnipotent, incorporeal; the souls of all men go to *en gatambó* (Cloudland) and 'Ngai sends the good to Paradise to live at ease, the bad to a waterless desert, and condemns the half-and-half to hard labour, though they too are admitted to Paradise. Compared with the account mentioned above, this is obviously non-primitive and cannot but arouse some doubts.

Again, take the deluge legend. The Masai of Hollis seem to have no myth of this sort, though the Wandorobo, with whom they are closely associated, have an interesting but very unbiblical legend (*Mitt. von Forschungsreisenden aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, xiii. 168) in which the Masai also figure. Deluge legends are extremely common in all parts of the world except Africa; if, as has been pointed out above, the Masai are connected by language and physically with the Latuka, Dinka, and Bari, and if the Masai are really Semitic, and have preserved their

¹ M. Merker, *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904.

proto-Semitic cosmogonic myths, we should, it is clear, find these same myths among their neighbours also, and, *a fortiori*, among all sections of the Masai. But Mr. Hollis cannot find Semitic myths in British territory, nor have they been discovered among any of the other tribes mentioned.

Arguments as to racial affinity may be based on (1) physical character, (2) material, or (3) mental culture; and their evidential value is roughly in the order given. The evidence from physical character is open to two objections in the present case: (a) we do not know with certainty what the primitive Semitic type was; (b) we know still less to what crossings and intermixtures the Masai have been exposed in the three or four thousand years that, on Merker's theory, have elapsed since they lived in their original home. Physical evidence may therefore be set aside.

2. Little or no proof of Semitic origin can be discovered in the material culture of the Masai. The *tembe* is, according to v. Luschan, a West-Asiatic product, and this form of habitation is in use over a considerable area of East Africa; but only a portion of the Masai make use of it, from which it seems clear that it is an imported feature among them, and not part of their primeval culture.

3. Language is never a safe guide in ethnological questions; the Masai language is undoubtedly Hamitic; if, therefore, the evidence of language goes for anything, they are not Semitic. Of course in so saying I do not overlook the connection traced by Erman between Hamitic and Semitic languages. But it is clear that no argument based on this view can be anything but subversive of Merker's theory; for if one thing is certain, it is that Egyptian mythology was not Semitic; but the language argument makes the Masai no more Semitic than the Egyptian, and demands that Masai and Egyptian alike shall have brought from their Asiatic (?) home the myths on which Merker relies; if these myths are not found among the ancient Egyptians and other Hamitic peoples, the obvious conclusion is that the Masai mythology is no part of the original inheritance of the Hamites. To reply to this objection, as Merker would presumably do, by arguing that the Masai are non-Semitic in language and material culture, (he argues, though on slight grounds, that they represent the

primitive Semitic physical type) owing to contact with Hamitic neighbours, and that we can base on their mythology alone an argument for their Semitic origin is to attach to traditions, which are not pan-Masai, which are not necessarily Masai at all, and which, if they are now genuine Masai, may well owe their Semitic character to lateral not lineal transmission, an importance which no one save the most fanatical opponent of the borrowing theory would dream of conceding to them. It is therefore not surprising that his views have not been received with general acceptance even in Germany.

Merker's views have been brought to our notice in England mainly through a futile controversy in the *Contemporary Review* on the subject of the Higher Criticism. As neither disputant possessed any of the knowledge, anthropological and otherwise, essential to a fruitful discussion of the question, it is unnecessary to allude further to their debate here.

Mr. Hollis's book is well illustrated; some of the pictures from one point of view suffer from the smallness of the page, but he has wisely chosen to give us large scale pictures with much detail rather than small figures and more artistic illustration. There seems to be an idea abroad that anything in the way of indexes is good enough for anthropologists; though Mr. Hollis's work is indexed more creditably than some other works of the last twelve months, it can hardly be called adequate.

N. W. THOMAS.

ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH POPULAR BALLADS. Edited from the Collection of Francis James Child by HELEN CHILD SARGENT and GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE. London: D. Nutt. 1905.

MRS. SARGENT and Mr. Kittredge have produced a very good book of ballads, about the size of the globe editions of English poets, by selecting one or more versions of each in Professor Child's famous gathering, adding concise prefaces, and furnishing a brief introduction, with a discussion of the evolution of our

ballads. Short as it is, the essay is nearly adequate for its purpose. The ballad, as a rule, is "impersonal"; if "it were possible to conceive a tale as telling itself, without the instrumentality of a conscious speaker, the ballad would be such a tale"—in verse. The argument would be more adequate if ballads were compared with popular tales (*Märchen*) in prose, and if the *cante-fable*, or popular medley of alternate prose and verse, were dwelt on and illustrated by examples. A short introduction, however, is hardly the place for a treatise on the inter-relations of European ballads and *Märchen*. The subject awaits its critic, and it is to be wished that Mr. Kittredge would make it his own. Again, the noted formulae of the ballad deserve attention, and the conventions which popular has bequeathed to literary poetry, as to some degree the Homeric epics attest. The ballads, Mr. Kittredge insists, belong to "the folk," the class undifferentiated by degrees of rank, wealth, and education. Their popular character is attested by their wide diffusion over all Europe. Wherever the tale existed, the folk could turn it into song, and did so. The ballad has now no authoritative text. Whatever men or women first composed, other men and women have modified, by additions, excisions, and new combinations, in the course of centuries of oral transmission. "The initial art of creative authorship is completely overshadowed by the secondary art of collective composition." But the initial art may have been that of one rhymer, or of many, each contributing a verse—a practice of which it might have been desirable to give more examples; for example, from the outermost isles of the Hebrides even to-day. It is unlikely that, in the reign of Mary Stuart, such a ballad as "The Queen's Marie" was thus composed, while the very unhistorical English ballads on Darnley, Riccio, and Bothwell may have been actually written and printed by and for some English street-singer. But many generations have collaborated in such versions of "The Queen's Marie" as we possess, with their numerous variations on the theme. In this sense authorship is "communal," and in many romantic ballads the *donnée* is part of the popular stock of *Märchen*. Some ballads are obviously popularised out of literary romances, but the romances usually owe their *données* to the

folk-store of *Märchen*. Mr. Kittredge does not give to the professional minstrel the credit, or all the credit, of originating ballads. The Borderers, Bishop Lesley tells us, themselves made their own ballads of the class of *Kinmont Willie*, however much that poem owes to Sir Walter Scott. Men like "the bard of Rule" made them, *ab initio*, and reciters in several generations collaborated in the usual way. I do not think that a literary person *must* fail in making a ballad that would pass muster as popular; but they usually do fail, because they try to be "too poetical," as Scott said of Mrs. Hemans. Could Mr. Kittredge have detected Scott's ballad of Harlaw, sung by Elspeth of the Burnfoot, in *The Antiquary*? I do not despair of puzzling Mr. Kittredge by a ballad which he could not disprove by technical reasons: and I do not know what he makes of "Auld Maitland," a nut very hard to crack. Has Mr. Kittredge a theory of how a title so late as that of "Duke of Atholl" got into "The Duke of Atholl's Nurse"? The difficulty, for a certain reason, of obtaining a nurse for the ducal family, in the eighteenth century, is "well known to me." Atholl was doubtless thrown in merely to give local colour. There is no room in a book of the dimensions of this for very minute inquiry: the specialist must go to Professor Child's five volumes. But a more exemplary edition than this is, for its purposes, cannot be imagined. The notes are very good, and the glossary is no less excellent. Mr. Kittredge's theory of ballad origins is one with which I so heartily sympathise that an opponent might be a more useful critic.

A. LANG.

Books for Review should be addressed to

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Vol. XVI.]

SEPTEMBER, 1905.

[No. III.

WEDNESDAY, 19th APRIL, 1905.

MR. G. L. GOMME (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the Rev. H. C. Matthew, Mr. Percy Maylan, and Miss Dona R. Torr as members of the Society was announced. The enrolment of the California State Library as a subscriber was also announced.

Mr. Lovett exhibited the following objects, viz.:

1. A Whitby cake with the arms of the town (three ammonites).
2. Ammonites from Whitby, to which false heads have been fixed to resemble coiled snakes.
3. A Whitby halfpenny, 1667, bearing the coiled snake arms, and an inscription "Henry Smeaton, his halfpenny, 1667."
4. Neolithic arrow-heads of flint used in County Antrim, about 1898, to cure cows of "grup."
5. Various holed stones used in County Antrim about 1898 to protect cows from the pixies, etc.

6. A ladle of wood used at Beaulieu, N.B., in 1840, for sprinkling victims of the evil eye with water : and read some notes illustrative of the objects. [Plate XXV. and p. 333.]

Miss Burne, on behalf of Miss Barry, exhibited two holed stones from Caithness, and read an explanatory note [p. 335].

After some observations by the Chairman and the Hon. Mrs. Sinclair, Mr. N. W. Thomas read two papers by Mr. R. E. Dennett, entitled respectively "Bavili Notes," and, "Some Notes from Southern Nigeria," and in the discussion which followed Miss Werner, Miss Burne, Mr. Thomas and the Chairman took part.

A paper on "Jerusalem Folklore," by Miss Goodrich Freer, was also read.

The Meeting terminated with votes of thanks to the exhibitors of objects and readers of papers.

WEDNESDAY, 17th MAY, 1905.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. D. ROUSE) IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The death of Mr. C. H. Stephenson and the resignation of Mr. E. J. Kitts were announced.

Mr. N. W. Thomas read a note on "The Religious Ideas of the Arunta."

Mr. Andrew Lang read a paper entitled "Arunta Totemism and Marriage Law," and in the discussion which followed Dr. Haddon and Mr. Nutt took part.

At the conclusion of the meeting a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Thomas and Mr. Lang for their papers.

THE DANCING-TOWER PROCESSIONS OF ITALY.

BY ALBINIA WHERRY, AUTHOR OF "STORIES OF THE TUSCAN
ARTISTS," ETC.

(*Read at Meeting, 15th March, 1905.*)¹

ON Midsummer Day in the year 1492, Tito Melema, the unworthy lover of Romola, was seated with his friends Nello, Cennini, and the painter Piero di Cosimo, in an upper chamber of the barber's house on the Piazza di San Giovanni at Florence. Amid the ringing of bells and the shouting of the populace, a many-coloured train was slowly defiling beneath them, passing from the shadow of the frowning palaces that hem in the narrow street, to the sunny open places where Giotto's Tower rises rose-flushed against the blue sky. Horses, giants, banners, huge figures of saints, had already passed in review, straggling along in the irregular order which characterises Italian ecclesiastical processions. But the part of the spectacle which more especially arrested the attention of the stranger were certain tall slender towers called *Ceri*.

"These gigantic *Ceri*, some of them so large as to be of necessity carried on wheels, were not solid, but hollow, and had their surface made not solely of wax but of wood and paste-board, gilded, carved and painted as real sacred tapers often are, with successive circles of figures, warriors, dancing maidens, animals, trees and fruit, and in fine, says the old chronicler, all that could delight the eye and the heart, the hollowness having the further

¹Cf. *ante*, p. 131.

advantage that men could stand inside these hyperbolic tapers, and whirl them continually so as to produce a phantasmagoric effect, which, considering that the towers were numerous, must have been calculated to produce giddiness on a magnificent scale."¹

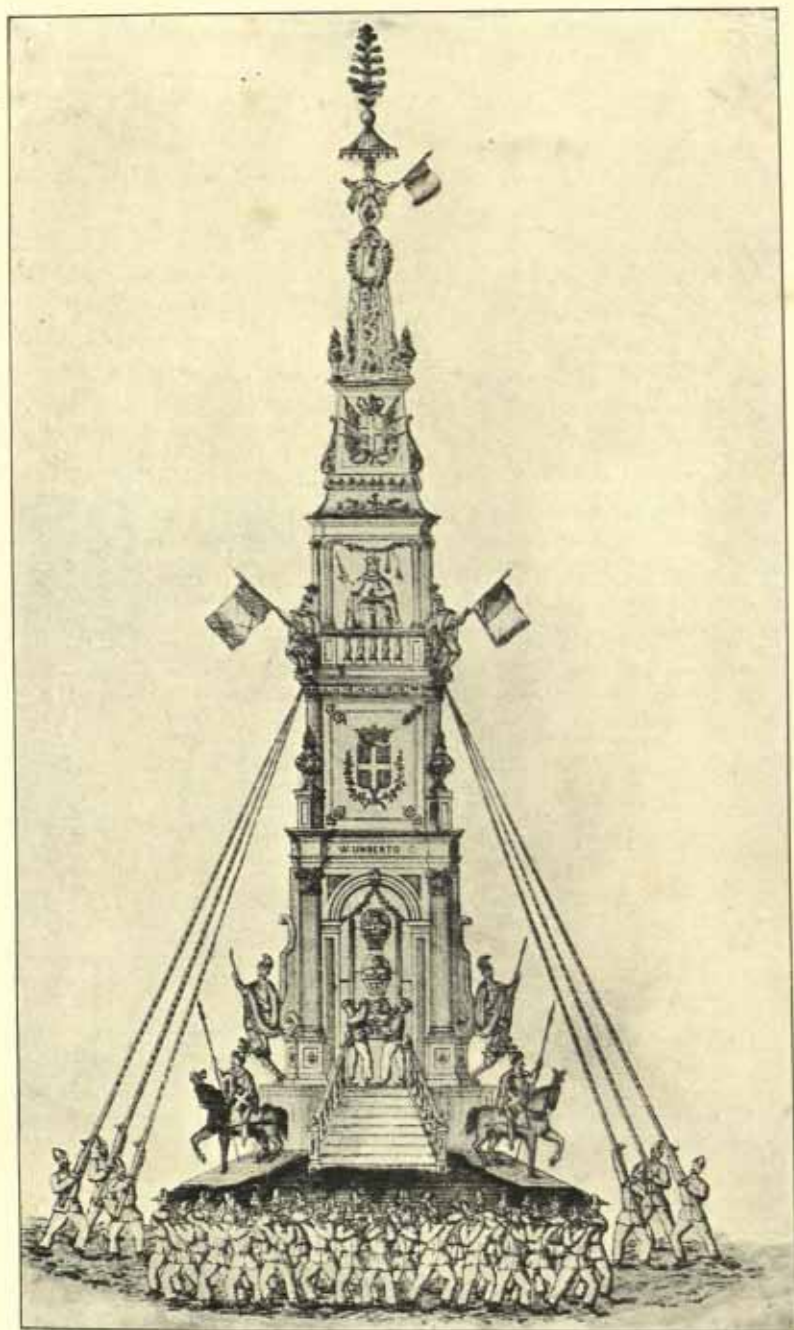
The procession of San Giovanni is now shorn of its former splendour, and but few of the English-speaking travellers who throng the City of the Lily are aware that though towers no longer perform their whirling course through Florence they are still to be met with in other parts of Italy.

The "Rua" of Vicenza.

The largest of these so-called "dancing towers" is the "Rua" of Vicenza, a stupendous edifice twenty-five metres in height, and weighing eighty-five *quintali*. The property of the Guild of the Notaries, it was once one only among many similar erections, each of which bore the insignia of a trade, was surmounted by the image of a patron saint, and usually contained some sacred relic. In the year 1441 the Guild of the Notaries erected a new and superior *Cero*,² henceforth called the *Rua* or *Ruata*. It was a permanent structure, redecorated each year, and some portion of it at least could be made to revolve with great rapidity like the towers of San Giovanni. Formerly the *Ceri* of the various Guilds paraded the streets at the Festa of the Corpus Domini, but, in the eighteenth century the *Rua* was secularized, the form of its decoration was altered, and it was no longer permitted to take part in the ecclesiastical procession.

¹ [The old chronicler from whom George Eliot derived this vivid picture of a bygone pageant was evidently Goro Dati, who flourished circa 1400 (*L' Osservatore Fiorentino*, vi. 3. See also Montaigne; *Le feste di S. Giovanni*, (Florence, 1877) pp. 20, 21; C. Guasti, *Le Feste* (Florence, 1884). —N.W.T.]

² Were they known as *Ceri*?—N.W.T.



THE RUA OF VICENZA.

To face p. 244.

In the first year of Italian liberty the *Rua* was turned into a political burlesque and "came forth" to grace a Republican festival. After this time it was no longer accompanied by the *Ceri* of the other Guilds, and the pageant became a poor and shabby affair. In September, 1901, it was restored with great magnificence; eighteen boys took the place of the wooden or plaster statues, and fairs and general rejoicings celebrated the occasion. The great expense connected with its progress, from the necessity of taking down the telephone and telegraph wires on the route, will prevent the "coming forth" of the *Rua* being an annual ceremony but it will probably be brought out occasionally to do honour to distinguished visitors. The name *Rua* is said to refer to the wheel of the *Carroccio* of the Paduans, brought back in triumph by the valiant citizens of Vicenza in the thirteenth century, but there is no reliable foundation for this statement.¹

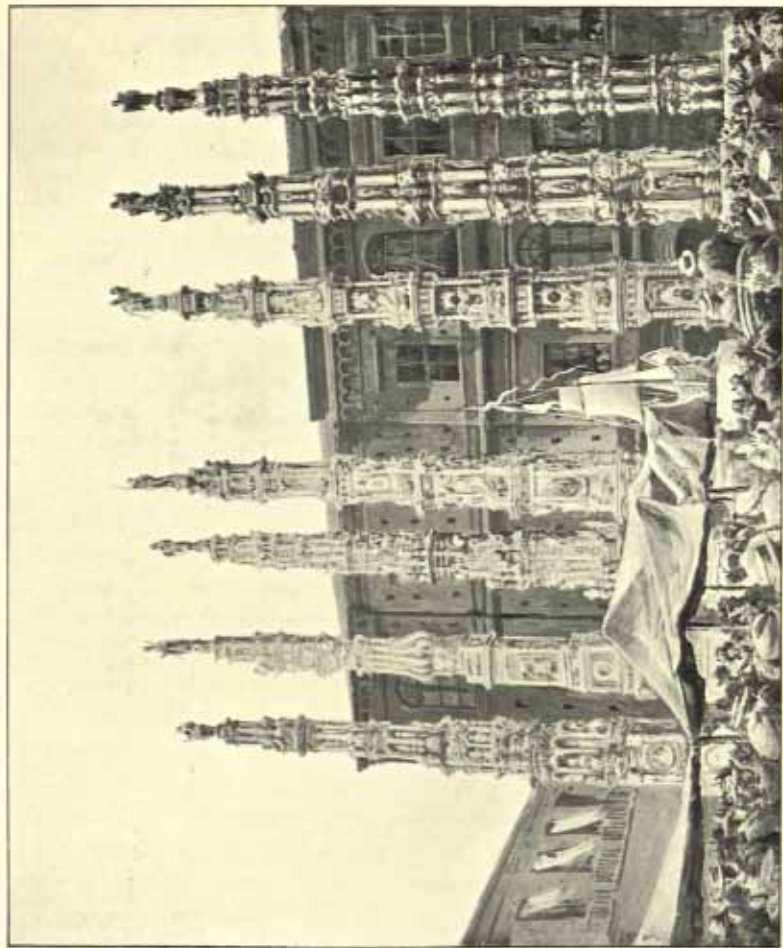
The "Macchina Triomphale," or Cero, of Santa Rosa at Viterbo.

In September, 1901, "the city of the beautiful fountains" was by no means an agreeable residence. No rain had fallen for two months; the heat, stench and noise were insupportable; for, in addition to the crowds assembled to do honour to the local patroness, and enjoy the Opera and the *Giostra* which celebrated the occasion, the Count of Turin, the Commander of the Italian army, had made the town his headquarters for the summer manœuvres.

I have at present no satisfactory account of the Viterbo festival, and can only describe what I saw myself. Towards dusk on the evening of September the 3rd the

¹Giuseppe Buso, *La Rua e la Sua Storia* (Vicenza, 1901). See also *L'Illustrazione Italiana*, Sept. 25, 1890; *Domenico del Corriere*, Sept. 5, 1901, from which Plate XX. is taken. There is a good deal of local literature on the subject, but as one writer observes, "more obstinate than the Nile, the Rua conceals its source."

sixty-two *facchini* whose office it is to carry the *Cero* assembled in the great square. Chosen for their strength, they are sustained by the promise of reward, not in this life only but in the next. They wear white clothes, red waist-scarfs and turbans, this peculiar head-dress, which gives them an Oriental appearance, being intended to afford some protection to the back of the head and neck, on which, like the Caryatides, they support the enormous weight. The Count of Turin attended by a circle of brilliant uniforms made his appearance on a balcony, and the assembled *Ceraioli*, having made their obeisance to him, at a given signal and by one united effort, raised the stupendous edifice. Then amid wild strains of music and attended by a shouting crowd, the *Cero*, twinkling from head to foot like a gigantic Christmas-tree, came swaying down the narrow street, ready to crush all that lay in its path. But that path was cleared and carefully sanded to prevent a fatal slip, and from the safe vantage of an upper window in the Hotel Schenardi it was possible to enjoy without apprehension the really magnificent spectacle. The tapering spire, sixty feet high, overtopped the tallest houses: it was as if the tower of St. Clement Danes were suddenly to stir from its foundation and make a rapid progress through the Strand. Even the sight of the hotel-keeper's son beaming from one of its higher stories did not wholly destroy the illusion. The eyes of the *Ceraioli* being perforce bent earthward, an official on either side guided the direction, and halts were made at certain authorized stations. Finally, after thus parading the city for some hours the *Cero* was deposited in front of the church of its patroness. There was no whirling, and there were no hanging figures on the edifice. The symbolical statues which decorated it appeared to be made of wood or plaster. The same *Cero* is made use of on five consecutive occasions. Then a new one is provided, the architectural style varying from Gothic to Renaissance,



THE LILIES OF NOLA.

from Romanesque to Baroque. In other respects it resembles the account given of the *Ruala*.¹

The "Gigli," or Lilies, of Nola.

At Nola, beloved of the archæologist for the beauty of its ancient Greek pottery, and interesting to the student of mediæval history as the home of the first church-bell, an annual festival resembling in many respects the Florentine pageant of San Giovanni is still celebrated on the 22nd and 23rd of June. Numerous slender towers, each about forty feet high, made of *gesso*, or stucco, on a wooden framework and surmounted by figures of the Madonna and patron saints, are carried through the streets on the shoulders of red-clothed bearers, who, undismayed by their burdens, perform remarkable evolutions, eight of the towers having been seen to dance a quadrille in the piazza. Each tower is composed of seven diminishing platforms built up round a mast and supported on a square base, on which is stationed a band of musicians who all play furiously and all different tunes. Above are boys, who scatter *confetti* on the crowd. On each tower are the insignia of a trade, the bakers, coppersmiths, and so forth, showing that the Lilies like the *Ceri* of Vicenza are the property of the different Guilds. With the towers comes a car, the property of the clog-makers, which is in form like a ship. Its commander is a ferocious Turk, its freight a silver statue of St. Paulinus. The procession is accompanied by the Bishop and clergy bearing the Host and relics. As the day wears on a fury of excitement possesses the whole populace, bells are rung, fireworks exploded, and linked dances similar to those performed by Greek peasants at Easter-time are a conspicuous and noteworthy feature of the day's proceeding. The tradition of the inhabitants as to the origin of their popular festival is of no very ancient date. They associate it

¹ From personal observation.—A.W.

with the return of their bishop St. Paulinus (A.D. 353-431) from a missionary voyage, and the giant "lilies" represent the flower-trophies brought out in his honour by his enthusiastic followers. Paulinus was a scholar, he had also a knowledge of mankind. May it not therefore be conceived that, taking advantage of a moment of popular enthusiasm, he converted the celebration of the return of Dionysos after his capture by pirates into a perpetual memorial of his own efforts to convert the Saracens? For the scenes of revelry which now honour the memory of the Christian bishop find their counterpart in the decorations of the painted wine-jars for which the city has long been celebrated.¹

The Festival of "La Vara" at Messina.

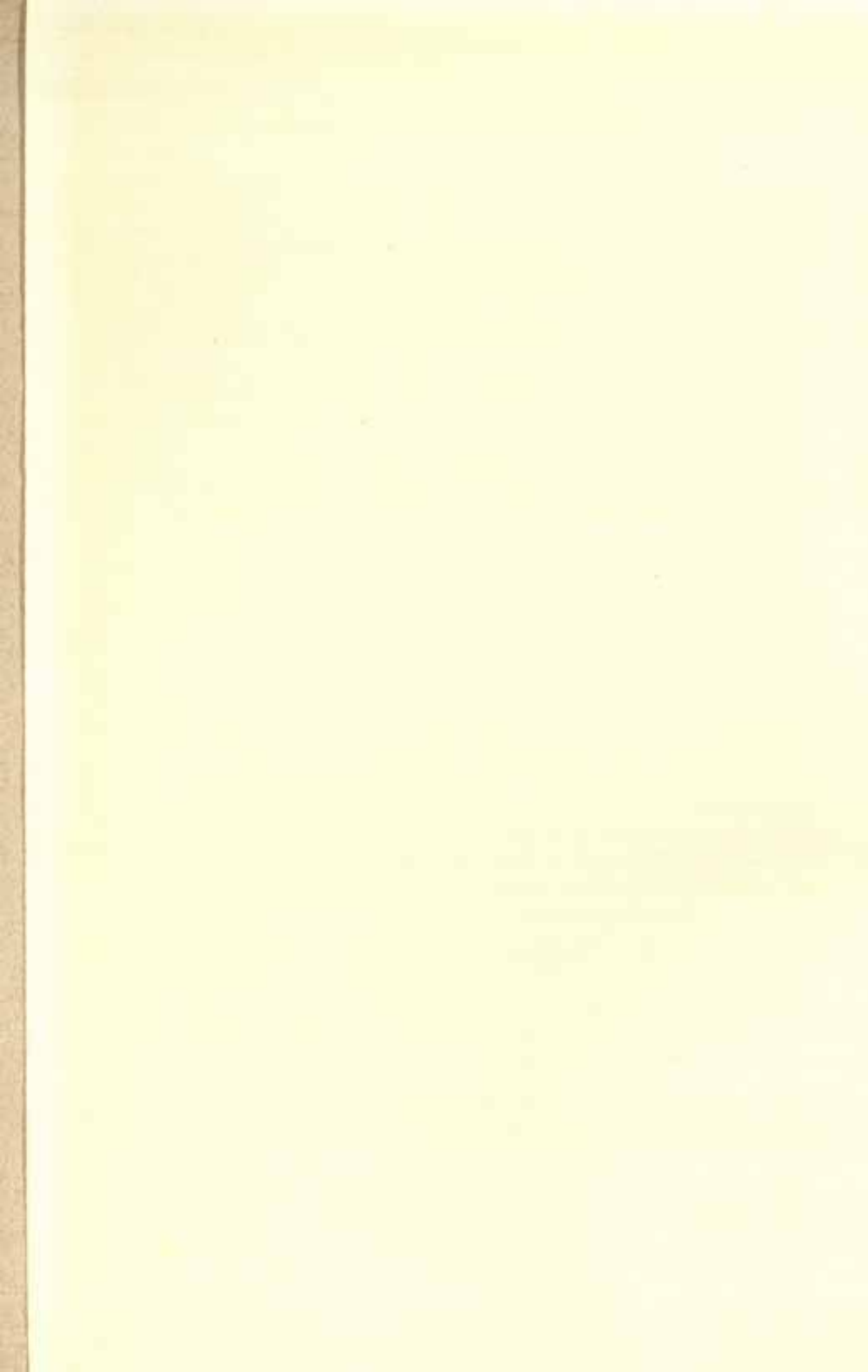
The festival of La Vara has a twofold significance. On its secular side it commemorates a famous sea-fight, when the Norman Count Roger delivered Sicily from the yoke of the infidel; as an ecclesiastical function it celebrates the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the patroness of Messina. On August 13th two huge pasteboard giants, mounted on horseback, are conducted through the city, the people thronging to kiss their feet and hands. The male giant, "a handsome Moor, bearded, and with rolling eyes," wears armour and has emblazoned on his shield the arms of Messina; the female, "somewhat larger, flaxen haired, and very like a Nuremburg doll," is magnificently attired, with a star on her forehead and a flowing blue mantle. The people call them Mata and Grifone; she is the beautiful lady of Messina, he a fierce heathen warrior whom she married and civilized. But they have various names, and Mata is it would appear the goddess Cybele or Rhea, Grifone her earthly consort. On the following day a

¹ E. Neville Rolfe, *Naples in the Nineties*; Murray's *Guide to Southern Italy*; and information furnished by an eyewitness, Mr. R. H. Hobart Cust, from whose photographs of the scene Plates XXI.-XXII. are reproduced.



THE SHIP OF NOLA.

To face p. 248.



pantomime camel, the fabled steed of Grifone, performs his gambols through the town, and into his gaping jaws are thrown loaves of bread, joints of meat, and flagons of wine.

On August 15th the secular festival becomes a religious one, and the "Vara," or "Bara," comes forth on its annual progress, borne on the shoulders of the members of the religious confraternities. This *Macchina Triomphale* of the Madonna of the Assunta was one of the most remarkable creations of human ingenuity fired by a zeal for religion. It is a revolving pyramid of great height, composed of four or five platforms. On the lowest the Virgin appears extended on her death-bed surrounded by the weeping apostles, above are prophets, singing patriarchs, the sun, moon, stars, signs of the Zodiac, and the spheres, blue spangled with gold. On the summit, suspended in mid-air by means of an iron bracket, the Soul of the Virgin, formerly represented by the most beautiful girl in Messina, clings to the extended hand of the central figure, who is described by some writers as the "Padre Eterno," by others as his Divine Son. Of late years these two important characters have been replaced on their giddy height by card-board figures, but on the extended rays of the great luminaries and on the vertical and horizontal wheels which represent the celestial spheres, real babies, gilt-winged and rose-crowned, play the part of angels. These wheels are in constant motion, like the swings or steam-horses of an English fair, and fortunate (if there be degrees in ill-fortune) are the inhabitants of the higher tiers, since violent sickness is the not unfrequent result.¹

¹ Pitre, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia* (Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane, vol. xxi.). Signorina Maria Pitre, in a work entitled *Le Feste di Santa Rosalia in Palermo e della Assunta in Messina*, gives no less than eighteen accounts from various witnesses of the procession of the *Bara* or *Vara*. The earliest, by P. Brydone, was in 1770; the most recent, taken from *L'Illustrazione popolare*, in 1888; a note, p. 158, mentions the procession as having taken place in 1897. The accounts differ in detail, but agree in the more important particulars.

The Festival of Santa Rosalia at Palermo.

This festival, remarkable for the length of its duration, is celebrated during the latter end of June and the first days of July. It was instituted, or probably revived, in the first half of the seventeenth century to commemorate the cessation of the plague by the intervention of the city's special patroness Santa Rosalia, daughter of Count Sinibaldo. On June 5th, 1635, the bones of the saint, long hidden in a cave on Monte Pellegrino, were brought down in solemn procession, and as they passed through the streets the plague was stayed. In 1858 the annual festival was discontinued, but was revived in 1895 under conditions suitable to modern requirements. I have not been able to verify exactly what takes place at the present time, the most recent account before me being no later than 1826. Lasting in all for nearly four weeks, the interest of the festival centres more especially on two events. On June 24th, Midsummer Day, the sleigh or trolly, which carries the car, is thrown into the sea amid universal rejoicings, to be withdrawn a few days later. On July 11th the car, a huge structure 30 metres high and 22 broad, is drawn through the streets by twenty yoke of oxen. On its summit stands Santa Rosalia, a slender girlish figure robed in white and wreathed with roses. Surrounding her are groups of angels, and conspicuous among a crowd of allegorical figures are Ceres, the earth mother, and a crowned man with a falcon on his wrist, the tutelary genius of the city. The lowest platform of the car, which is profusely decorated and painted, has the form of a ship. Four days later the relics of the saint, contained in a magnificent silver urn, are carried through the streets by the *Muratori* (masons), and are accompanied by the *barelli* (biers or stretchers) of other guilds. Many of these *barelli* are of great size and require a large number of bearers. They contain relics

and are surmounted by figures of saints. Large silver statues of S. Cosmo and S. Damian, who are associated with Santa Rosalia as healers of the plague-stricken population, also take part in this procession.¹

The Elevation of the Ceri at Gubbio.

I can add but little to the admirable account of the Ceri of Gubbio by Mr. Herbert M. Bower, which was published in 1897 by the Folklore Society. But having been present at Gubbio on two occasions of more recent date, the impressions of an enthusiastic spectator may present a few points of interest.

The Ceri already described present a certain similarity of form: they are towers or pagodas built up in diminishing stages: they often serve as pedestals for sacred images, and sometimes also as reliquaries. But to what can we liken the three *Ceri* of Gubbio? They have been described as being composed of two hollow wooden lobes or cylinders, and as resembling Chinese lanterns placed one above the other. When first we saw the Cero of Sant' Ubaldo, which is the largest, and stands when elevated about sixteen feet in height, it lay in a horizontal position in an outhouse, and it then looked like the needle-case of a giantess. When tossing above the crowd, very much out of the perpendicular, the three *Ceri* have a weird resemblance to Christmas crackers. Like the whirling towers of San Giovanni, they are of wood, painted and decorated. They have light handles serving no obvious purpose, and are further adorned with tags of ribbon and gilt paper. When elevated on the *barella*, which is supported on the shoulders of the *Ceraioli*, they preserve their balance by means of guy-ropes held in position by enthusiastic spectators, whose office as sustainers of equilibrium becomes more onerous and important as the day wears on.

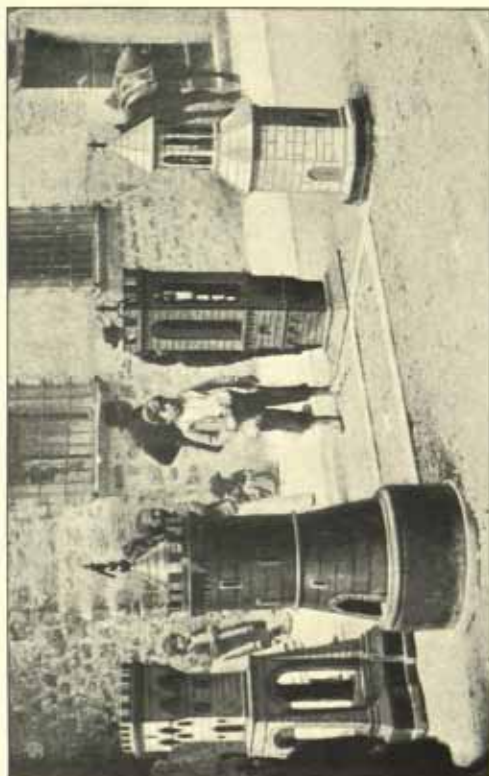
¹ Pitre, *op. cit.*

In the early morning of May 15th, 1903, the vigil of Sant' Ubaldo, the empty market-place and deserted streets of the poverty-stricken town showed little animation, for the real business of the Festa begins on the following day. Only crowds of boys, the most loquacious and ubiquitous of all their kind, attaching themselves firmly to our company, led the way to the shrine of the sweet Madonna Belvedere of Ottaviano Nelli, and the repository of those Eugubean Tables which are the pride of Gubbio. Towards midday, however, stalwart white-clad men wearing red caps, and with coloured scarfs round their necks and loins, began by twos and threes to make their appearance. Following in their tracks, we visited in turns the various halls, where fast-day repasts of fish, fruit, and sweets, flanked by graceful wine-flagons and long loaves of bread, were served on narrow tables, and the whole population of Gubbio, male and female, poured in and out in an unending variegated throng. The scene was an animated one, and as the day wore on and the company met together for the third time, the excitement became more intense. Now and again one or another of the *Ceraioli*, raising his wine-cup, broke through the hubbub of voices with the shout, "Viva Sant' Ubaldo, viva!" and the cry, taken up by a comrade at a distant table, had the significance of the old refrain at the Thessalian banquets, "Evöe, Bacchus, evöe!"

In the hall of the *Cero* of Sant' Ubaldo the dignitaries of the town sat long over their cups, even though an interruption was effected by a rush to the kitchen window to show the visitors the ceremony of the baptism of the *Cero*. This took place before its elevation, when a man climbing on the *barella* broke a large clay vessel of water over the base of the tower. This curious custom is intended, it is said, to ensure the good quality of the new wine. Then, not without difficulty, the unwieldy structure was raised on the shoulders of twelve bearers, who at once



PLATE XXIII.



STANDS FOR THE CERO OF SANT' UBALDO; GUBBIO, 1903.

To face p. 253.

set off on their wild career up and down the steep narrow ways, amid showers of blossoms thrown from upper windows by the women of Gubbio, who otherwise take little active part in the day's proceedings. The most remarkable feature in the progress of the three *Ceri* is the gyrations performed by them in front of the houses of important citizens, who, to show their appreciation of the compliment, pour out before the bearers libations from their best vintages. These peculiar movements consist in the describing of a triple circuit backwards and *wither-shins*: a difficult task when executed with a long awkward *barella*, an ill-balanced weight, by bearers raised by drink and excitement into a state of frenzy.

An interesting episode witnessed by one member of the party was the lowering of the *Cero* of Sant' Ubaldo to the open casement of one of the tall grey houses, where a sick man, supported by his friends, embraced with great fervour and emotion the feet and golden robes of the little image.

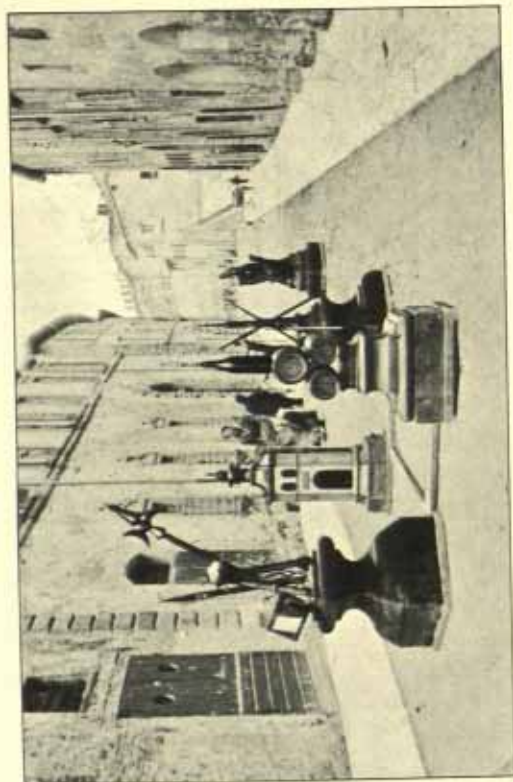
All through the earlier part of the day the *Ceri* paraded separately, or stood deserted in the street of the Via Savelli della Porta while the bearers were feasting. While thus in repose, they were in 1903 supported in the upright position by certain stands of quaint and antique appearance, (Plates XXIII.-XXIV., from photographs by Mr. R. H. H. Cust.) In the following year these stands were absent. Enquiry into this singular circumstance led to the unveiling of a tragedy in humble life. These stands were the invention of a local workman; they had been broken the previous year, and, unable to obtain redress, he had left the city in search of remunerative work elsewhere. The mutilated fragments stood dejectedly in the poverty-stricken home, beside the empty cot of his little daughter, who during his absence had been carried to her last sleep in the churchyard.

The *Ceri* of Gubbio, like the *Gigli* of Nola, are the

property of guilds, the *Muratori* (masons) taking precedence as the special devotees of the patron of the city. The soldiers and shopkeepers tender their allegiance to San Giorgio, the *Contadini* (peasants) to Sant' Antonio, and these stands which have so melancholy a history were composed of the insignia of the different trades; the first being a model of four castellated buildings; the second, two trophies of arms, a shop, and a pyramid of wine barrels; the third, a cottage, a haystack, and two tree branches, possibly intended for the olive and the vine.

About five o'clock in the afternoon vespers are celebrated in the Cathedral, and then the Bishop, the living representative of Sant' Ubaldo, and clad like him in golden cope and mitre, comes down in solemn procession to give the ecclesiastical benediction. With him is the church image of the Saint, swaying and tottering on the shoulders of aged men, who, in their lusty youth had, like their sons and grandsons, run and shouted under the far heavier burdens.

The two processions (the *Ceri* now form up into one) meet in the Via Dante, and as the last word of the Benediction is spoken start off on their mad career. They are preceded by a mounted trumpeter, and by the first captain (possibly the representative of the former *Capitano del Popolo*) also mounted, and waving a sword. Behind him comes the second captain on foot, together with two men bearing covered hatchets; these being most likely the relics of the military part of the pageant, formerly of much greater importance. Up and down the narrow streets the *Ceri* tossed wildly, the limp arms of the little images wagging feebly as if in mute protest, their golden, blue, and red robes making bright spots of colour in the grey landscape. Overhead in the tower of the Palazzo dei Consoli the great bell, which is rung only five times a year, tolled slowly, the men, who by pressing with their feet on heavy levers set it in motion,



STANDS FOR THE CERO OF SAN GIORGIO; GUBBIO, 1903

To face p. 255.

being plainly visible. Then it ceased suddenly, and the *Ceri* having completed their circuit of the town, precipitated on to the Piazza. At our first visit it rained heavily, the ecclesiastical benediction was dispensed with, and it was amid a forest of toadstools of every shade of dingy blue, brown and green (the umbrellas of the crowd) that the *Ceri* made their three rapid turns round the square. The men, now worked up into a perfect ecstasy of excitement, leant backward as they strained under the heavy burden, their flushed cheeks and shining eyes denoting their "god-possession," while shouts of "Evviva Sant' Ubaldo!" rent the air. Then with a last wild whoop they rushed towards the city gate, at the foot of the steep path which ascends the Monte Ingino.

To pass the low arch the *Ceri* must be lowered to a nearly horizontal position, a difficult performance, during which accidents often happen to the saints. Profiting by this delay two of our party, clearing their way through the kindly sympathetic crowd, stormed the height and arrived at the convent on the summit, which is the final goal, before the first *Cero* had reached it; the allotted time being usually twenty minutes. When Sant' Ubaldo and his followers had passed the convent gate it was closed behind them, for here the attendant saints are visitors only, and must wait their turn. Then within the courtyard, in sight of the shrine where the incorruptible body of the great bishop lies in state above the high altar, the *Ceraioli* of Sant' Ubaldo once more run their threefold course. The image of the saint is taken down from his pedestal; the people eagerly throng round to kiss the rumpled garments of their revered patron; and the *Cero* is stowed away until the following year. San Giorgio and Sant' Antonio, when admitted into the precincts repeat the same ceremony.

Then ensued a scene of uproarious rejoicing, health-drinking, handshaking; and a regular ovation was

bestowed on the *forestieri*, who had joined in the homage paid to the local divinities. The thick mist which had enveloped the hill and hidden the three shouting groups tearing up the narrow path from those beneath had cleared away; and as we descended the perpendicular hillside, with the saints now amicably united on one platform, the valley lay like a map beneath our feet. The ruins of the Roman theatre stood out clearly, in shape like the crescent moon. The tower of Palazzo dei Consoli was outlined with bright stars, lights shone in every window, bonfires on every hill. Down the winding ways we stepped in unison, joining in the refrain of socialistic songs, which on every day except this one of privileged licence are forbidden by the police.

Before we reached the town, most of the Ceraïoli had slipped away, the shepherds and vine-dressers had sought their homes among the rugged hills. Some few Eugubian citizens, the boys and ourselves, remained to take part in the concluding ceremony. At the foot of Monte Ingino is a small chapel, where a young white-robed priest with his attendant acolytes was already in waiting. Here the saints, their hard work accomplished, retire into seclusion for another year. A hymn with the constant repetition of Sant' Ubaldo's name was shouted, rather than sung, by all present, a benediction bestowed, and then all went quietly homeward.¹

It now remains to ask ourselves what is the origin of these curious erections and the attendant ceremonies, and

¹ On the point of going to press I take the following from *La Domenica del Corriere*, Aug. 14, 1904 (translated): "At Casteltermini, in the province of Girgenti, there has been held from time immemorial a festival of a more or less religious character. On this occasion a high tower mounted on a car having the form of a ship is drawn in procession through the streets by oxen. On its summit is a figure of the Madonna, here regarded as the special patroness of the sulphur miners, who for this one day escaping from their gloomy, unwholesome surroundings, take a prominent part in the festivities."

can they be brought into connection with similar observances in other countries? The god hidden from the gaze of the vulgar in a leafy frame, the wooden effigy burnt by the Druid priest in honour of his bloodthirsty deity, the sacred tree, the pointed cone, each of these may be indirectly represented by these remarkable structures, and the tower which now serves as a pedestal for god or saint may itself have been originally the emblem of the Deity. The expression still in use for the progress of a great *Barella* or *Cero* is the one familiar in Babylonian records of Bael, "the Going Forth." The golden ship of Amon Ra still takes part in a Mahomedan procession at Luxor;¹ Husain's home, lamp-bedecked, a tower 40 feet high, borne by 50 men, parades the streets of Calcutta. An eyewitness of a festival held in honour of Buddha of Kamakura, in Japan, describes many points of resemblance to these Italian festas;² and no one who has seen a great *Barella* plunging down the street can fail to be reminded of the procession of the "Ruth Jathra," when, raised on cars over forty feet high and drawn by the excited populace shouting "Victory to Jaganarth," that great idol, accompanied by two inferior companions, makes its annual progress from Puri to Gondicha.

ALBINIA WHERRY.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

The seven festivals with which Mrs. Wherry's paper deals range as regards the date of their celebration from May 15th (Gubbio) to September 3rd (Viterbo); the Vara of Messina falls on August 15th; all the remainder in June.

¹ *Folklore*, vol. xi., p. 386.

² *Life of Professor Cowell*, vol. i., p. 149.

At Gubbio, Florence, and Viterbo the objects are known as *Ceri*; at Vicenza as the *Rua*; at Nola as *Gigli*. They range from 16 feet to 100 feet in height and are conical and hollow. As a rule, they seem to be slender, though that of Palermo was 72 feet broad; and they are in some cases composed of platforms from four to seven in number, one above the other. The whirling movement is recorded of all save those of Palermo and Viterbo.

Many details are given, but it is difficult to lay much stress on them owing to the great diversity of the different celebrations. At the present day it is difficult to say what is modern accretion, what is really of olden time. Even in the case of the features whose antiquity is vouched for we have to face the question of how far syncretism, or, if not syncretism, convergence of type, has been at work. Until we have a complete collection both of the older accounts (Montaigne gives one of the Florence celebration, and there are possibly many more) and of more modern descriptions, it seems hopeless to try to extract the kernel and say "this is a portion of the original festival." But until this can be done we are dealing with ætiological myths, not scientific theories.

On the whole, the most hopeful side on which to approach the problem is that of the date and general character of the celebration. The whirling motion cannot, it is true, be satisfactorily explained; but we have a sufficient number of analogies in the way of spring and summer processions to be able to offer an opinion on the basis suggested above.

There are two well-marked types of processions: the first moves in an odour of sanctity and dispenses the holy influence wherever the holy image goes. Of this type are the progresses of Nerthus and Nehalennia, of Ceres and Dionysus, of the Babylonian gods, and perhaps even of Jaganarth. In more modern times we have the carrying of images round the fields in order to bless the crops. The second is intended, not to diffuse *mana*, but to disinfect the locality by attracting the evil influences with a view to their removal. On the west coast of Africa we find such an expulsion of evils, animal figures being made, into which the evil spirits are believed to pass, and which are subsequently thrown into the river. Of this type, too, are, in all probability, some familiar European celebrations,

such as the hunting of the wren and other obscure customs. But into these points I need not go here.

This broad distinction in purpose then is usually accompanied by a difference in the season of these two kinds of celebrations. The *mana*-diffusing, actively-beneficent ones are found in the late spring and summer, the scavenging, passively beneficial in the winter and the early months of the New Year. Judging from the date of these Italian celebrations, one would say their purpose was to diffuse a holy influence, not to remove an evil one.

Further than this in the present state of our knowledge we cannot go with certainty. There is, however, a point—the connection of the ship with some of the celebrations—which calls for some remarks. Ships are of course by no means invariably a “note” of a god-procession; in fact it is quite common, especially in the East Indies, to find the ship figuring in an exorcism ceremony or in an expulsion of evils. But it should not be forgotten that in ancient Europe especially we have frequent trace of the sacred character of the ship-car; in fact, one might be tempted to ask whether this is not the primitive type of the waggon. The wheel may well have been evolved as an aid to launching. I have already mentioned the ship-procession of Nerthus in the plains of N.W. Europe;¹ to this must be added the ship of Dionysus² in the Anthesteria, and of the Panathenaion;³ probably a little research would disclose other cases.⁴ The ship is of course a familiar figure in the Carnival, and possibly we have in the ship of the Ceri no more than a transference from the spring ceremony. The May-day ship of other districts, however, suggests that the ships of Nola and Palermo may be a real survival.

N. W. THOMAS.

¹ Tacitus, *Germ.*, 40.

² *Rhein. Mus.*, 43, 355; Usener, *Sintflutsagen*, *passim*.

³ Michaelis, *Parthenon*, 327 sq.

⁴ I have given the European parallels known to me in *Folklore*, vol. xii., p. 476, *cf.* p. 307.

[Can any correspondent give particulars of the celebration of the Festival of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin (2nd July) at Boulogne? The 14th stanza of the “Morning May song” (*ante*, p. 57) suggests a former ship-procession at Padstow. The Shetland ship-procession (*Folklore*, vol. xiv., p. 74) seems rather to belong to the expulsion-of-evil class.—ED.]

THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

III: THE ITALIANS.

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

THE Latin language bears witness to an early animistic conception of the sky. For the common expression *sub divo*, "under the open sky," stands in an obvious relation to the doublets *divus* and *deus*, which are the ordinary terms for "god."¹ Of kindred origin were the names *Iu-piter* (with its variant forms *Dius*, *Diovis*, *Iovis*, etc.), *Dies-piter* (with *dies*, etc.), and certain others to be mentioned later.² This whole group of words springs ultimately from a root *div-*, meaning "to shine";³ and it is probable that *divum* originally denoted the sky as "bright," *divus* or *deus* a god who dwelt in the "bright" sky, *Iu-piter* the "Bright" One as "Father." The close interconnexion of the said words, satisfactorily demonstrated by modern philologists, was already appreciated in the first century B.C. by M. Terentius Varro, who writes in his great treatise *On the Latin Tongue*:⁴ "Jupiter

¹ W. M. Lindsay *The Latin Language* p. 244.

² See Aust in W. H. Roscher *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* ii. 619 ff. for a collection of the facts, and K. Brugmann *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, pp. 85, 88, 91, 95, 312, 358, 377, 445, 685 for their explanation.

³ O. Schrader *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* p. 670.

⁴ Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 66 Müller: hoc idem magis ostendit antiquius Iovis nomen; nam olim *Diovis* et *Diespiter* dictus, id est dies pater. a quo dei dicti qui inde, et *dius* et *dīvos*, unde *sub divo*, *Dius Fidius*. itaque inde eius perforatum tectum, ut ea videatur divom id est caelum; quidam negant sub tecto per hunc deierare oportere.

was formerly called *Diovis* and *Diespiter*, that is, the Day-Father. After him his children were called *dei*. Hence too the names *dius* and *divus*, which gave rise to the phrases *sub divo* and *Dius Fidius*. Consequently the roof of his temple has a hole in it so that the *divum* or sky may be seen. And certain persons affirm that no oath by this god¹ ought to be taken under cover of a roof." In the sequel Varro definitely identifies Jupiter with the sky,² as Ennius had done more than a century before him. Cicero³ quotes from the latter a couple of detached lines, which may be rendered—

"aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem."

Look at yonder Brilliance o'er us, whom the world invokes as Jove.

and—

"qui, quod in me est, execrabor hoc, quod lucet, quidquid est."

Wherefore with all my might I'll curse you Light, whatever it be.

There can be little doubt that in these passages the poet has caught and made permanent for us the religious thought of the Italians in the moment of its transition from an animistic to an anthropomorphic stage. Behind him lay the divine sky: in front stood the sky-god Jupiter.

As a bright sky-god Jupiter bore the title *Lucetius*, the "Light-bringer." Servius⁴ in his commentary on the *Aeneid* says: "In the Oscan language *Lucetius* means

¹ "This god" means *Dius Fidius*. Scaliger cited from Nonius Marcellus s.v. "rituis" a fragment of Varro's *Cato*, a treatise on the education of children, in which we read: "And so our domestic practice is that whoever wishes to swear by *Dius Fidius* is wont to step beneath the opening in the roof." Scaliger also compared Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 28, where we are told that boys who swore by Hercules were not allowed to do so under a roof, but had to go out of doors for the purpose.

² Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 67 Müller: quod Iovis Iuno coniux et is caelum.

³ Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 4 and 65. See J. B. Mayor *ad loc.*

⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 9. 570 sane lingua Oscan *Lucetius* est Iuppiter, dictus a luce, quam praestare dicitur hominibus. ipse est enim nostra lingua *Diespiter*, id est *dei pater*. A corruption of this appears in Mythogr. Vat. 3. 3. 1:

Jupiter, who is so called from the light (a *luce*) that he is believed to bring to men." Macrobius¹ observes: "We hold that Jupiter is the author of light (*lucis*), whence also the Salii sing of him in their songs as *Lucetius*." His remark is borne out by a scrap of Salian verse quoted in a Latin grammar² dating from the reign of Hadrian:

*When thou thunderest, Light-bringer (Leucesie),
before thee quail all men and gods
and the broad sea.*

A. Gellius³ in the second century of our era writes of Jupiter: "He was called *Diovis* and *Lucetius*, because he furnished us and helped us with day (*die*) and light (*luce*), as it were with life itself. Jupiter is termed *Lucetius* by Cn. Naevius in his *Punic War*." Paulus Diaconus,⁴ whose glossary goes back to an important work written by M. Verrius Flaccus in the reign of Augustus, similarly states that "*Lucetius* was a name once given to Jupiter because men believed him to be the cause of light (*lucis*)." Lastly, C. Marius Victorinus,⁵ a grammarian of the fourth century, has preserved the older form *Loucetius*.⁶ The Latin scholars who discuss the word *Lucetius* commonly couple with it a second

lingua Osorum dictus a *luce*, quam hominibus praestare putatur, Iuppiter *Luceius*, a Latinis vero *Dicpiter*, id est *dici pater* vocatur. A different corruption is found in a gloss cited by J. J. Pontanus (*ad* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 15. 14): *Lucetius*, *Zeús*, and in another cited by Fulvius Ursinus (*ad* Paul. *exc. Fest.* 10. i.v. "*Lucetium*"): *Λουέσιος Ζεύς*.

¹ Macr. *Sat.* 1. 15. 14.

² Terent. Scaur. *de orthogr.* p. 2261 Putsch = Grammatici Latini vii. 11, 28 Keil. Bährens (*Fragmenta poetarum Romanorum* p. 29) prints the lines thus:

quomé tonás, Leucésie,
prae téd tremónti quót | ibét hemúnis, déui,
conctúm maré.

³ Gell. 5. 12. 6 f.

⁴ Paul. *exc. Fest.* p. 85 Lindemann.

⁵ Victorin. p. 2459 Putsch = Grammatici Latini vi. 12, 18 Keil: inde scriptum legitis *Loucetius* nountios [et] loumen et cetera.

⁶ See further *infra* p. 320.

title of like significance, *vis. Diespiter*, "Day-Father." On a Praenestine *cista*¹ of the fifth or sixth century B.C. a bearded male figure standing next to Juno (*Iuno*) is called Diespiter (*Diesptr*); and thenceforward the name is used by Latin authors as a synonym of *Jupiter*.² As Jupiter was *Lucetius*, so his consort Juno was *Lucetia* or *Lucina*.³ In their capacity of light-god and light-goddess they not only brought daylight to men, but also controlled the changes of the moon. The Ides of all the months, *i.e.* the days of the full moon, were sacred to Jupiter; the Kalends, *i.e.* the days of the new moon, to Juno.⁴ And the day on which the full moon occurred was known as "the Pledge of Jupiter" (*Iovis fiducia*),⁵ because the night being as bright as day gave as it were a promise of day's renewal.

From Jupiter as sky-god to Jupiter as weather-god was not a far cry. For the old popular phrase *sub divo*, "under the open sky," poets of the Augustan age wrote

¹ *Monumenti dall' Inst. vi. pl. 54, Annali dell' Inst. Arch. 1861 p. 151 ff.*

² So in an old formula *ap. Liv. i. 24. 8* (with variants *dies Iuppiter, Diesiuppiter*, etc.), also in *Plaut. capt. 909, Poen. 740, 869, Hor. ad. 1. 34. 5, 3. 2. 29*, and often in post-Augustan writers. Seneca (*ludus de morte Claudii* 9. 4) distinguishes Diespiter from Jupiter and describes him as "the son of Vica Pota." This goddess, whose name was by some thought to signify conquest and possession (*Cic. de legg. 2. 28 vincendi . . . potiundi*), by others eating and drinking (*Arnob. adv. nat. 3. 25 Vita et Potua, cp. Varro ap. Aug. de civ. Dei 4. 11 Potina . . . Educa and ap. Non. Marc. p. 108 Merc. Edusae . . . Potinae*), was perhaps an Italian *Δέσπονα* (? **Vici-pota* cp. **δεσπο-πότης*). If so, her son, like the offspring of Zeus and Persephone (*Clem. Alex. protr. 2. 16 p. 14 Potter, Arnob. adv. nat. 5. 20 f.*), would be chthonian in character. Should we therefore restore *Dis pater* for *Diespiter* in *Senec. Iud. 9. 4*? The two names were liable to confusion: see Pauly-Wissowa *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* v. 479.

³ *Mart. Cap. 2. 149. See further Roscher Lex. ii. 578 ff.*

⁴ *Macrobi. 1. 9. 16, 1. 15. 14 ff., Ov. fast. 1. 55 f., Auson. ad. 12. 1 f., Plut. quaest. Rom. 24, Io. Lyd. de mens. p. 47, 6 ff. Wünsch.*

⁵ *Macrobi. 1. 15. 15.* The ritual of the Ides is described by W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* pp. 120, 157, 198, 215, 241, G. Wissowa *Religion und Kultus der Römer* pp. 101, 103, 444 n. 3.

sub Iove, "under Jupiter," thus blending the animistic with the anthropomorphic conception of the sky. Ovid says of the early Arcadians:

*'Neath Jupiter they would endure, and bare of limb they went,
To face the downpour of the sky or blustering South content.¹*

So of the Romans at the festival of Anna Perenna:

Some must endure 'neath Jupiter, and some must pitch a booth.²

Demeter in search of Persephone—

*Steadfast 'neath Jupiter endured for many a weary day,
And patient marked the moonlight fall or rain-storm on its way.³*

While of Clytie, who fell in love with the Sun, we read:

'Neath Jupiter by night and day she sat upon the ground.⁴

The same author elsewhere tells how Juno was jealous of—

The nymphs who 'neath her Jupiter lay on the mountain-side.⁵

Horace too can write:

*The hunter still 'neath freezing Jupiter
Must tarry heedless of his loving wife.⁶*

Such expressions, however illogical, had a certain poetic value. So had the rhetorical, though sometimes far-fetched, use of the word *Iupiter* to denote "the sky" or "the weather." The author of the poem *Aetna*,⁷ wrongly ascribed to Virgil, writes:

*"quamvis caeruleo siccus Iove fulgeat aether."
Though the dry air should shine with shy-blue Jove.*

¹ *Ov. fast.* 2. 299 f.

² *Ov. fast.* 3. 527.

³ *Ov. fast.* 4. 505 f.

⁴ *Ov. met.* 4. 260.

⁵ *Ov. met.* 3. 363.

⁶ *Hor. od.* 1. 1. 25 f. *Cp. Stat. Theb.* 2. 403 ff. *te iam tempus aperto | sub Iove ferre dies terrenaque frigora membris | ducere, Claud. cons. Prob. et Olyb.* 36 f. *gelido si quem Maeotica pascit | sub Iove, Avien. Aratea prognost.* 405 ff. *sed quum tranquillo tenduntur crassa serena | sub Iove, venturae praenosceret signa procellae | convenit.*

⁷ *Aetna* 331.

Horace ridicules the satirist M. Furius Bibaculus for his line—

"Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuat Alpes."
*Jove on the wintry Alps spits the white snow.*¹

But Horace himself in describing an inclement climate speaks of "clouds and a sorry Jupiter."² Virgil in his *Georgics* has:

*For ripe grapes you may well dread Jupiter.*³

Again he calls a rainy atmosphere, "Jupiter wet with South winds," or "Jupiter shivering with South winds,"⁴ and in a famous passage concerning the spring-time says:

*Then the almighty Father of the sky
Into the bosom of his joyous bride
With fostering showers falls.*⁵

Petronius, not unmindful of his Virgil, in a list of portents includes the following:

*Sudden fell Jupiter in a shower of blood.*⁶

This in turn was imitated by Claudian, who in the course of a similar list writes:

*Jupiter, threatening, flushed with a cloud of blood.*⁷

¹ Hor. *sat.* 2. 5. 41, with Porphyrio, Acro, and schol. Cruq. *ad loc.*: see Bährens *Frag. poet. Rom.* p. 319. The demerit of Furius' unlucky line (which is quoted by Quint. *inst. orat.* 8. 6. 17) of course lies in the metaphor *conspuat*, not in the metonymy *Iuppiter*.

² Hor. *od.* 1. 22. 19 f. Cp. Stat. *Theb.* 10. 373 f. sic ubi nocturnum tonitru malus aethera frangit | Iuppiter, absiliunt nubes.

³ Verg. *georg.* 2. 419, et iam maturis metuendus Iuppiter uvis. Serv. *ad loc.* interprets: *aer*, more suo, cuius varietas plerumque laborem decipit rusticorum.

⁴ Verg. *georg.* 1. 418, Iuppiter avidus austris, *Aen.* 9. 670 Iuppiter horridus austris, cp. Serv. *ad loc.* Iuppiter: *aer*. I suspect that the phrase "Iuppiter avidus" was suggested to the poet's mind by the phrase "Iuppiter uvis": see *Class. Rev.* xvi. 146 ff., 256 ff.

⁵ Verg. *georg.* 2. 325 f.

⁶ Petron. *sat.* 122 sanguineoque recens descendit Iuppiter imbre (v. l. igne).

⁷ Claud. *in Eutrop.* 1. 4 f. nimboque minacem | sanguineo rubuisse Iovem. Claud. *de bell. Get.* 378 f. vel qualis in atram | sollicitus nubem maesto Iove cogitur aether may be a reminiscence of the passage from Horace already cited.

Valerius Flaccus and Statius, in describing a storm at sea, both speak of "wintry Jupiter":¹ the latter also of "cloudy Jupiter."² Martial has not only "the shower of Jove," but also "the rains and soaking Jove."³ And, finally, in a line of Juvenal we hear of:

*The vernal Jupiter hissing with pitiless hail.*⁴

The prose writers, even in the silver age of Latin literature, refrain from such venturesome expressions, though Arnobius makes the defenders of the old mythology interpret Jupiter as "the rain,"⁵ and Augustine mentions that Jupiter was sometimes identified with "the sky."⁶

But the conception of Jupiter as a weather-god was by no means confined to men of letters. As the Greeks had their Poseidon or "Zeus-in-the-rain-water" (Ποσειδάς),⁷ so the Italians recognized a watery Jupiter. Tibullus says of Egypt:

*The parched grass kneels not to a Rainy Jove.*⁸

¹ Val. Flacc. 3. 577 ff. ceu pectora nantis | congelat hiberni vultus Iovis agricolisve, | cum coit umbra minax, Stat. Theb. 3. 26 f. cum fragor hiberni subitus Iovis, omnia mundi | claustra tonant. With the latter passage cp. Stat. Theb. 2. 153 ff. quibus ipse per imbres | fulminibus mixtos intempestumque Tonantem | has meus usque domus vestigia fecit Apollo.

² Stat. Theb. 12. 650 f. qualis Hyperboreos ubi nubibus institit axes | Iuppiter. Cp. ib. 8. 423 f. ut ventis nimisque minax cum solvit habenas | Iuppiter.

³ Mart. 9. 18. 8 Iovis imber, 7. 36. † pluvias madidumque Iovem.

⁴ Juv. 5. 78 f. fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus | Iuppiter.

⁵ Arnob. 5. 32 itaque qui dicit: cum sua concubuit Iuppiter matre . . . Iovem pro pluvia, pro tellure Cererem nominat. et qui rursus perhibet lascivias eum exercuisse cum filia . . . pro imbris nomine ponit Iovem, in filiae significatione sementem.

⁶ Aug. de civ. Dei 7. 16 et mundus enim totus Iuppiter, et solum caelum Iuppiter, et sola stella Iuppiter habetur et dicitur.

⁷ Folk-lore xv. 280.

⁸ Tib. 1. 7. 26 arida nec Pluvio supplicat herba Iovi. Senec. nat. quaest. 4. 2. 2 wrongly ascribes the line to Ovid.

Statius makes Adrastus pray to Hypsipyle—

*In place of Winds and Rainy Jupiter.*¹

And a poet in the *Latin Anthology*, describing the month of December, writes:

*All things reek of Rainy Jove.*²

At Naples was found the following inscription:

IOVI | PLUVIA II

*To Jupiter of the Rain.*³

Similarly Jupiter was known as *Imbricator*, "the Showerer."⁴ The bearded head of Jupiter on a denarius of L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus (consul in 49 B.C.) is, according to some numismatists, intended for a likeness of Jupiter *Pluvius*.⁵ Far more convincing is the representation of this god still to be seen on the Antonine Column at Rome.⁶ It will be remembered that the army of M. Aurelius was rescued from the surrounding Quadi by the interposition of a god, who refreshed the fainting legionaries with a down-pour of rain, while he blasted their opponents with hail and thunderbolts.⁷ This god, in whom all modern scholars have seen Jupiter *Pluvius*,⁸ appears in the bas-relief as a bearded man with outstretched wings and arms;⁹ rain

¹ Stat. *Theb.* 4. 758 f. tu nunc ventis pluvioque rogaris | pro Iove.

² Anth. Lat. 395. 46 Pluvio de Iove cuncta madent.

³ H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* 3043 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix. 324.

⁴ Apul. *de mundo* 37 dicitur . . . etiam Imbricator.

⁵ So E. Babelon *Monnaies de la République Romaine* i. 426, no. 66, after Eckhel *Doctrina numorum veterum* ii. 514. See, however, for other interpretations A. Morell *Thesaurus* p. 120 f., pl. 3, 6 Cornelia.

⁶ P. S. Bartoli and J. P. Bellori *Columna Antoniniana* pl. 15.

⁷ Dio Cass. 71. 8 ff., Oros. 7. 15. 7 ff., *alib.*

⁸ The identification is confirmed by the analogy of Trajan's Column, which similarly shows Jupiter in defence of the Romans hurling his thunderbolt at the Dacians: cp. V. Duruy *Hist. of Rome* iv. 767 with v. 195.

⁹ S. Reinach *Répertoire de la Statuaire* ii. 172, 7 shows a bronze figure of a nude bearded man with outstretched wings and arms, who has also small wings on his feet and is represented as flying through the air. Reinach suggests, though with a query, that he is an Orphic deity. May he not rather be Jupiter *Pluvius*?—unless indeed he is *Dædalus*.

pours in torrents from him and is collected by the Roman soldiers in their bucklers, while the barbarians lie on the ground struck by lightning. The cult of Jupiter as a rain-god can be traced back to a remote antiquity. Petronius¹ says: "Formerly the women wearing stoles used to go bare-foot to the Capitol, with dishevelled hair but pure hearts, and would implore Jupiter for water. Presto! it came down in bucketsful. *Now or never* was the word: and they all got home like drowned rats!" Tertullian² refers to the same rite: "Since summer and winter depend on the rains and the seasons must be considered . . . you offer water-charms (*aquilicia*) to Jupiter, you proclaim bare-foot processions (*nudipedalia*) to the populace, you seek your sky on the Capitol and look for clouds from the ceiling, turning your backs upon the true God and the true Heaven." Some further details of the ceremony are known.³ "The water-charm (*aqua-elicium*)," says Paulus Diaconus,⁴ "is the name given to certain means of extracting rain-water (*quum aqua pluvialis remediis quibusdam elicitur*), for instance, if we may believe it, to the old custom of drawing the streaming-stone (*manali lapide*) into the City." Varro,⁵ too, has a word on the subject: "We call a small-sized pitcher a water-jug (*aquae manale*) because by means of it water is poured into the basin. Hence the streaming-stone (*manalis lapis*) of the priestly ceremonies, which is moved when rains are required, gets its name. Again, we all know that in very ancient times men spoke of the streaming-rite (*manale sacrum*): this explains its name." These passages make it probable that the stone, which may have been a baetyl

¹ Petr. sat. 44.

² Tert. apol. 40.

³ The sources and literature are cited e.g. by Wissowa in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2308 f. and Pauly-Wissowa ii. 310.

⁴ Paul. exc. Fest. p. 95 Lindemann.

⁵ Varr. *de vita populi Romani* lib. 1 ap. Non. Marc. p. 547 Merc.

of Jupiter, was taken by the priests¹ in procession up the Capitoline Hill, and solemnly drenched with water as a magical or quasi-magical cure for drought. The stone normally stood outside the Porta Capena, near the temple of Mars;² but, for reasons which will subsequently appear,³ this circumstance does not militate against its connexion with Jupiter.

It has been plausibly maintained⁴ that the Jupiter worshipped when the rain was charmed forth (*elicitur*) was Jupiter *Elicius*, who had an altar on the Aventine.⁵ If so, it may have been thought that Jupiter himself came down in the form of a shower—a conception voiced by Virgil in a passage already quoted.⁶ But Jupiter *Elicius* was a thunder-god as well as a rain-god; for it was he who, when the people was panic-stricken by continual lightnings and rain, showed King Numa how the storms might be stayed,⁷ and at a later date slew with a thunderbolt Numa's successor, Tullus Hostilius.⁸ We have, therefore, also to reckon with the belief that Jupiter might fall as a lightning-flash or a thunderbolt,⁹ appropriate manifestations

¹ So Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 175.

² Paul *exc. Fest.* p. 95 Lindemann.

³ *Infra* p. 320 f.

⁴ By O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom* ii. 154 and E. Aust in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 656 ff.

⁵ Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 94 sic Elicii Iovis ara in Aventino ab eliciendo, cp. Liv. 1. 20. 7 ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Iovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit (sc. Numa), Ov. *fast.* 3. 327 ff. eliciunt caelo te, Iuppiter. unde minores | nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciumque vocant. | constat Aventinae tremuisse cacumina silvae, | terraque subsedit pondere pressa Iovis, Valerius Antias ap. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 1 accepta regem (sc. Numam) scientia rem in Aventino fecisse divinam, elixisse ad terras Iovem.

⁶ Verg. *georg.* 2. 325 f., quoted on p. 265.

⁷ Ov. *fast.* 3. 285 ff., Plut. *vit. Num.* 15, alib.

⁸ Liv. 1. 31. 8, Aur. Vict. *de viris illustr.* 4. 4, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 140 and 28. 14.

⁹ See the passages collected by P. Burmann senior in his *Zet̃ Karaßárṽs sive Jupiter Fulgerator, in Cyrrhestarum nummis.* Leidæ 1734.

of a god who originally represented the bright aspect of the sky. More than one extant inscription¹ records the due burial of a "bright" or "divine lightning-flash," as though it were a thing instinct with mysterious life. Such flashes occurring by day were regarded as exhibitions of Jupiter Fulgur,² i.e. Jupiter identified with his own flash. According to Vitruvius,³ "Hypaethral buildings will be erected under the clear sky (*sub diu*) to Jupiter the Lightning (*Iovi Fulguri*), to Caelus, to Sol, and to Luna; for we see the forms and effects of these divinities before our eyes in the open and shining vault of heaven." One such building or precinct dedicated to Jupiter Fulgur stood in the Campus Martius at Rome.⁴ Jupiter is further identified with the thunderbolt in an inscription⁵ found near Vienna, which reads:

IOVI • FVLGVRI • FVLMINI

To Jupiter the Lightning and the Thunderbolt:

perhaps also in dedications⁶ to Jupiter Flagius, Flazius, or Flazzus, i.e. the "Flashing" Jupiter.

A later stage of religious thought is marked by another dedication⁷ from Anguillara on the Lago di Bracciano:

SACR • IOVI • TONANTI • FVLMINANTI

Sacred to Jupiter who sends the Thunder and the Thunderbolt.—

for here the god is more plainly anthropomorphic.

¹ H. Dessau *inscriptiones Latinae selectae* 3054 fulgur dium (inscribed on a coffer built of stones on the Esquiline), 3055 fulgur divom conditum (found at Nîmes), cp. G. Wilmanns *exempla inscriptionum Latinarum* 2734, 2735.

² Fest. p. 201 Lindemann, where with Müller p. 229 we should read *Iovi Fulguri*.

³ Vitr. i. 2, 5.

⁴ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 656, W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* p. 239.

⁵ Dessau 3053, cp. 3049, 3052.

⁶ Conway *Italic Dialects* i. 114 f. no. 108 ekas iuvilas iuvel flagiuf stahint = hae iovilae Iovi Flagio stent; Dessau 3852 Iovi Flazzo votum . . . Iovi Flazio votum. C. D. Buck *Oscan and Umbrian Gram.* p. 248 f. connects *Flagius* with *flagro*, *fulgur*, etc.

⁷ Dessau 3047.

Finally he is called Fulgurator, Fulminator, etc.,¹ "the Hurler of the Lightning and Thunderbolt," and represented on innumerable works of art as a male figure holding or launching his weapon.² The Romans, following the lead of the Etruscans, distinguished three kinds of thunderbolt hurled by Jupiter:³ but these are subtleties into which we need not dip.

The rain-storm goes to swell the streams or pools; and it is interesting to find that Juturna, an ancient Latin goddess of "lakes and sounding rivers,"⁴ bore a name akin to that of Jupiter.⁵ Moreover, Virgil and Ovid make Juturna beloved by Jupiter, who rewarded her with sovereignty over the waters.⁶ It should also be noticed on the one hand that Juturna was the name of a spring close to the river Numicius in Latium,⁷ on the other that there was a famous cult of Jupiter Indiges on the bank of the same river.⁸ The inscription on the sanctuary of Jupiter Indiges spoke of him as "presiding over the stream of the river Numicius."⁹ At Rome too Juturna may have been associated with Jupiter; for at the bottom of her well was

¹ E.g. Apul. *de mund.* 37 dicitur et Fulgurator et Tonitrualis et Fulminator, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 23 ubinam Fulminator tempore illo fuit? and the inscriptions cited in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 751.

² Roscher *Lex.* ii. 754 ff.

³ Sen. *nat. quaest.* 2. 41, Fest. p. 167 Lindemann, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 42.

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 12. 139.

⁵ Corssen *Beitr. z. ital. Sprachenk.* p. 357 derives *Diuturna* (Roscher *Lex.* i. 762) or *Iuturna*, like *Diōvis* or *Iovis*, from the root *div-*: cp. *supra* p. 260.

⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 12. 138 ff., Ov. *fast.* 2. 585 ff.

⁷ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 12. 139. So sacred was this spring that, if Servius is to be trusted, water from it was brought to Rome for all sacrifices: Servius, however, or his authority was probably confusing it with the spring of Juturna in the Roman Forum.

⁸ Liv. 1. 2. 6, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 36, *alib.*

⁹ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 64.

found an altar representing on its four sides the Dioscuri, Leda, Jupiter, and Lucifera.¹

Of Jupiter as a sea-god there are but scanty traces. At Beneventum is a dedication²—

IOVI • TVTATORI • MARIS
To Jupiter who makes the Sea safe.

Claudian calls Neptune "the watery Jupiter"³ and even "our Jupiter":⁴ but it is probable that he is using *Iupiter* merely in the sense of "a sovereign deity." Other evidence will be considered later.⁵

Jupiter was identified with the sun by late writers⁶ and inscriptions:⁷ but there is no reason to think that this identification was old.⁸ The "Bright" One denoted rather, for the early Romans at least,⁹ the whole hemisphere of daylight. Nevertheless, with the apparent motion of the

¹ E. Burton-Brown *Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum* p. 14 f., M. F. Hoffbauer et H. Thédenat *Le Forum Romain*, p. 68.

² Dessau 3027.

³ Claud. *de cont. Mall. Theod.* 282 Iovis aequorei submersam fluctibus aniam.

⁴ Claud. *de nupt. Hon. et Mar.* 174 ff. dic talia nunquam | promeruisse Thetin, nec cum soror Amphitrite | nostro nupta Iovi.

⁵ *Infra* p. 264 f. The sculptor Heniochus carved a group representing "Oceanus et Iuppiter" (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 33).

⁶ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 30, Macrobi. 1. 23. 1 ff., Io. Lyd. *de mens.* p. 47, 8, 10 f.

⁷ E.g. Dessau 4320, cp. 4319.

⁸ Against the solar character of Jupiter Anxurus see Preller-Jordan *Römische Mythologie* i. 268, n. 1, Wissowa *Religion und Kultur der Römer* p. 232 f.

⁹ The bronze discs or wheels (*aenei orbis*) dedicated by the Romans to Semo Sancus (i.e. to Dius Fidius) out of the spoils of Privernum (Liv. 8. 20. 8) were perhaps solar symbols. At Iguvium the man who swore by Jupiter Sancus held a similar wheel (*urfeta = orbita*) in his hand (Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.* p. 121, n. 6). Cakes called *summanalia* and presumably sacred to Summanus, the nightly Jupiter, were made in the shape of a wheel (Fest. p. 267 Lindemann). The wheel was also a common symbol on the coinage of ancient Italy (A. Sambon *Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie*, pp. 41, 46, 58, 66, 170, etc.), though its connection with Jupiter is quite uncertain.

heavens, the bright sky sank beneath the horizon at nightfall; and as Jupiter was the god of the sky by day, so Summanus or Jupiter Summanus¹ was the god of the sky by night.² Hence the Italians, like the Greeks, came to conceive of a subterranean Jupiter. They named him *Vediovis*, *Vedius*, or *Veiovis*, and regarded him as in some sort an anti-Jove. Thus on the summit of the Alban Mount there was a cult of Jupiter Latiaris,³ in Bovillae at its base a cult of Vediovis:⁴ on the Capitol at Rome Jupiter Feretrius was worshipped,⁵ in the hollow of the same hill Vediovis.⁶ The chthonian character of the latter deity is well attested. The ancient formula of devotion used by dictators and generals was addressed to *Dis pater*, *Veiovis*, *Manes*,⁷ i.e. to a group of chthonian powers. A law, attributed to Romulus, ordained that a patron or client who neglected his duties "might be put to death by any man, as a victim devoted to the chthonian Jupiter,"⁸ i.e., to Vediovis.⁹ And Martianus Capella expressly identifies Vediovis with Pluto and Dis.¹⁰ There was, then, an early cult of a chthonian Jupiter, which justified the poets in calling the underground god Jupiter *Stygius*,¹¹ *Tartareus*,¹² *infernus*,¹³ *niger*,¹⁴ etc.¹⁵

¹ Dessau 3057, 3058.² Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.* p. 124.³ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 686 ff.⁴ Dessau 2988.⁵ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 670 ff.⁶ Preller-Jordan i. 264 ff., Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.* p. 191.⁷ Macr. *Sat.* 3. 9. 10.⁸ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 10.⁹ Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.* p. 190.¹⁰ Mart. *Cap.* 2. 166 Pluton quem etiam Ditem Veiovemque dixere. Wissowa *cp. Mythog.* *Vat.* iii. 6. 1.¹¹ Verg. *Aen.* 4. 638, *Or. fast.* 5. 448, *Sil.* 1. 386, *Aus. id.* 12 *grammatico-mastix* 16, *carm. Verg.* 379 in Bährens *Poetae Latini minores* iv. 234, Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* i. 258 no. 540. 5, *Arnob.* 2. 70, 3. 31, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix. 5350.¹² Val. Flacc. 1. 730, *Sil.* 2. 674.¹³ Sen. *Herc. fur.* 47, *cp. Prudent c. Symmach.* 1. 388 Iovis Infernalis.¹⁴ *Sil.* 8. 116, *Stat. Theb.* 2. 49.¹⁵ J. B. Carter *Epitheta deorum* p. 33 cites *Aus. epitaph.* 33. 8 Iovis Elysii, *Sen. Herc. fur.* 612 diro . . . Iovi, [Damasus] *epigr.* 78. 4 funereo . . . Iovi.

Jupiter, in short, like Zeus,¹ appears not only as a sky-god, but also as a water-god and an earth-god. As Ovid² puts it,—

Jupiter

Rules heaven's height and the realms o' the threefold world.

Several extant works of art represent him in this triple capacity. A chalcedony scarab of Etruscan workmanship, formerly in the Dehn collection,³ shows a naked male deity with a *himation* over his left arm in the act of stepping into a chariot. He grasps a thunderbolt in his right hand, a trident in his left; while at his feet is a dog. We can hardly be mistaken in regarding this singular figure as Jupiter in his threefold rôle: the thunderbolt marks him as a sky-god, the trident as a water-god, the dog (Cerberus?) and the chariot as an earth-god.⁴ Again, at Albano was found a broken bas-relief of archaistic style thus described by Brunn:⁵ "The central figure is a god, bearded and crowned, who by the attributes of a thunderbolt and a trident on his right, and a cornucopia surmounted by an eagle on his left side is shown to be Jupiter conceived as lord of the sky, the sea, and the underworld." Similarly a tile found at Urbisaglia in Picenum⁶ depicts *Iove Iutor*, "Jupiter the Helper," clad in

¹ *Folk-lore*, xv. 265-282.

² *Ov. met.* 15. 858 f. *Iupiter arces | temperat aetherias et mundi regna triformis.*

³ I have figured the gem in *Class. Rev.* xviii. 361 fig. 1 after J. Overbeck *Griechische Kunstmythologie* Zeus Gemmentaf. 3, 7; cp. F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie* ³ iii. 1 pl. 6, 27, A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* pl. 18, 6.

⁴ So Panofka ("Über verlegene Mythen" in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1839 p. 35, pl. 1, 5) and Welcker (*Griechische Götterlehre* 1. 162, n. 5), who call the god Zeus Triopas. Creuzer (*Symbolik* ³ iii. 204) and Overbeck (*Kunstmythologie*, Zeus, p. 259) take the same view—"ein Zeus als Herrscher in den drei Reichen." Furtwängler (*Ant. Gemm.* ii. 87) thinks that the animal at the feet of the god is not a dog but "ein kleiner Seedrache."

⁵ *Bullettino dell' Istituto* 1861 p. 86.

⁶ I have reproduced this interesting *tegula mammata* in *Class. Rev.* xviii. 374 fig. 6 after J. Schmidt (*Monumenti dell' Istituto Arch.* xi. pl. 17, 1).

a purple cloak: he is armed with a thunderbolt and a trident in his left hand and a two-pronged fork in his right, while a dolphin appears at his side. The title *Iutor* and certain black strokes, which have been taken to denote an architectural cornice,¹ show that we have here to do with an actual cult. It is obviously that of the triple Jupiter: the thunderbolt belongs to him as a sky-god; the trident and dolphin as a sea-god; the fork as an earth-god. Lastly, it is significant that Vediovis, the chthonian Jupiter, is represented on coins of the Roman *gentes* with a thunderbolt² or a trident:³ in other words, the earth-god has the attributes of the sky-god and the sea-god. We might almost say with the author of the *Asclepius*:⁴ "Jupiter Plutonium is lord alike of land and sea."

In dealing with the Greeks I⁵ showed that superhuman power was at first expressed by various grotesque or monstrous forms with a plurality of heads, arms, legs, etc.; that a convenient substitute for this plurality, and one strictly in accordance with primitive thought, was found in a three-bodied or three-headed or three-eyed shape; and that another such suggestion of manifold activity was conveyed by double or Janiform figures. For example, Argus, the Argive Zeus, had a hundred eyes, or else had three eyes, or else had a Janiform head.⁶ We have next to see whether the multiple, the triple, and the dual types of divinity are equally applicable to Jupiter.

It may be at once admitted that they are not. On the contrary, there are very few traces indeed of abnormal

¹ *Annali dell' Instituto Arch.* lii. 63.

² E. Babelon *Monnaies de la République romaine* i. 281, 506 ff., 532, ii. 8, 133, 266.

³ *Ib.* ii. 6, 8.

⁴ [Apul.] *Ascl.* 27 terrae vero et mari dominatur Iupiter Plutonium, et hic nutritor est animantium mortalium et fructiferarum.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xv. 282 ff.

⁶ *Ib.* 287 ff.

Jupiters. Augustine¹ speaks of a Jupiter *Centumpeda*, "the Hundred-footed," and explains the title as denoting ability to establish things or set them on foot (*stabiliendi*). Rather it was a survival from the grotesque or monstrous stage of Jupiter worship. Of the triple Jupiter there is not a trace on Italian soil; though the Sicilians, as I have argued elsewhere,² had in their three-eyed Cyclops a real parallel to the three-eyed Zeus of Argos. One or two Janiform Jupiters exist: there is a double bust of the god in the Palazzo Spada at Rome;³ and a coin of Geta exhibits a double-headed Jupiter (perhaps Jupiter Quirinus⁴) holding a spear in his right hand, a thunderbolt in his left.⁵ But such representations may be, after all, only late accommodations to the well-known type of Janus.⁶ In general, the Italian conception of Jupiter was singularly free from distortion or deformity.

At this point, however, it must be remembered that Janus was in all probability only the older form of Jupiter.⁷ Corssen⁸ and other philologists have proved that, from the etymological point of view, the following pairs of deities should be equated:

{	Zeús (Zäw) and Διὼν.
	Dianus (Janus) and Diana (Jana).
	Jupiter and Juno.

¹ Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 11 dixerunt eum (*sc.* Iovem) Victorem, Invictum, Opitulum, Impulsorem, Statorem, Centumpedam, Supinalem, Tigillum, Almum, Ruminum et alia quae persequi longum est.

² *Class. Rev.* xviii. 325 ff.

³ Figured in E. Braun *Antiken Marmorwerken* I Dekade Taf. 3a, 3b; cp. Overbeck *Kunstmythologie* Zeus p. 91 f. ⁴ *Infra* p. 281.

⁵ Figured, after Braun, in *Class. Rev.* xviii. 367, fig. 2; cp. Overbeck *Kunstmythologie* Zeus p. 92.

⁶ The influence of Janus on Jupiter may also be traced in the matter of epithets: the titles *Patulcius* and *matutinus* as applied to Jupiter (De-Vit *Lex. i. vv.*) are cases in point. Orelli 1242 *Gemino Iovi o. m.* is of doubtful meaning and authenticity.

⁷ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 367 f.

⁸ Corssen *Über Aussprache, Vocalismus u. Betonung d. lat. Sprache* 2 i. 212, *Beitr. z. ital. Sprachkunde* p. 350 ff.

All these are ultimately connected with the root *div-*, which meant "to shine."¹ Several titles of Janus recall those of Jupiter. Thus the oldest hymns of the Salii saluted him as "deorum deus,"² and he was often invoked as *Ianus pater* or *Ianus pater*.³ Conversely Jupiter was actually surnamed Janus; for an inscription from Aquileia records a dedication *Iovi Diano*.⁴ Again, according to one version Janus, not Jupiter, was the mate of Juturna;⁵ and the title Janus Junonius implies a similar relation to Juno.⁶ On certain occasions joint offerings were made to Janus and Jupiter, or to Janus and Juno, or to Janus and Jupiter and Juno.⁷ Janus alone took precedence of Jupiter in the divine hierarchy;⁸ and the *rex sacrorum* or priestly king at Rome, who seems to have been in a sense his special ministrant, took similar precedence of the *flamen Dialis* or priest of Jupiter.⁹ These facts

¹ *Supra* p. 260. Corssen *loc. cit.* wrongly derived the group from the root *div-* of *dividere*, *divisio*. Its connexion with *dius*, *dium*, "the shining sky," was already grasped by Buttmann *Mythologus* ii. 72, Schwegler *Römische Geschichte* i. 218 f., Preller *Römische Mythologie* i. 168. Indeed, P. Nigidius Figulus, a Pythagorean of the first century B.C., long since declared that Janus was a sun-god and Diana (Jana) his partner (Macrob. *Sat.* i. 9. 8), while the opinion that he was a sky-god of some sort was very general in antiquity (see Roscher *Lex.* ii. 44).

² Macrob. *Sat.* i. 9. 14, 16. Varro *de ling. Lat.* 7. 27 quotes a Salian line in which the phrase "divom deo" occurs. He has also (*ib.* 26) preserved five lines of a Salian hymn which, if we could be sure of the reading *o Zeu* (Lindsay *Latin Language* p. 5), would prove that the Salii identified Janus with Zeus. Proclus certainly did so at a later date: *hymn.* 6. 3, 15 χαῖρ' Ἰανὲ πρύτανον, Ζεῦ ἀρχαῖε, χαῖρ' Ἑρμὲ Ζεῦ.

³ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 368 nn. 3, 4.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v. 783.

⁵ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29.

⁶ Macrob. *Sat.* i. 9. 15 f., i. 15. 19, Io. Lyd. *de mens.* p. 63, 13 Wünsch, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 610.

⁷ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 368 nn. 7, 8, 9. Cp. Plaut. *cist.* 519 f.

⁸ Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 67, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29, Macrob. *Sat.* i. 9. 9. For examples see Liv. 8. 9, 6, Cat. *de re rust.* 134, 141, Dessau 5047 f.

⁹ Preller-Jordan i. 64, Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.* p. 20, Roscher *Lex.* ii. 43. See also Dict. Ant. i.v. "Agonalia."

are best explained by the assumption that Janus was the name under which Jupiter was worshipped by the earliest population of Rome (Pelasgian Aborigines?¹); and that, when this early folk was conquered by the incoming Italians, its ancient deity Janus and his consort Diana (Jana) were retained side by side with the Italian Jupiter and Juno. Herodian² calls Janus "the oldest god native to the country of Italy"; Labeo³ says that he was termed "*Patricius* in the sense of an autochthon"; and Septimius Serenus⁴ addresses him in the following verse—

"tibi vetus ara caluit Aborigineo sacello."

For thee the ancient altar burned in Aboriginal shrine.

Now, if Jupiter did not conform to the multiple, triple, and dual types of divinity, Janus did. An ancient image of Janus with four faces was brought from Falerii to Rome and set up in the Forum Transitorium. Hence he was called *quadrifrons*, *quadriformis*, τετράμορφος.⁵ On a common middle-brass of Hadrian he is portrayed with three faces:⁶ he stands looking towards us, a bearded figure with one hand resting on his hip and the other holding a sceptre, while his three visages are distinctly

¹ See W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* i. 254 ff., who concludes that "the two main elements in the population of early Rome were the aboriginal Ligurians, who formed the Plebs, and the Umbrian Sabines, who formed the aristocracy." The statements of Dionysius cited by Prof. Ridgeway in support of his contention are, however, as Prof. J. S. Reid informs me, viewed with much suspicion by all modern critical historians. For my present purpose, it makes no difference whether the early inhabitants of Rome were called Aborigines or not. I only postulate that there was an early population of some sort and that its chief deity was Janus, not Jupiter.

² Herodian *hist.* i. 49. ³ Labeo *ap.* Io. Lyd. *de mens.* p. 63, 12 Wünsch.

⁴ Bährens *Fragmenta poetarum Romanorum* p. 387.

⁵ Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 9. 13, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 607, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 8, Io. Lyd. *de mens.* p. 64, 4 ff. Wünsch, Suid. *s.v.* 'Ιανόμορφος, Codinus *de orig. Constantinopolit.* p. 13.

⁶ Cohen *Descr. des monn. imp.* ² ii. 129, nos. 281, 282; figured in Montfaucon *Ant. expl.* i. pl. 5, 19. R. Mowat in the *Bulletin épigraphique* iii. 168 takes this to be Janus Quadrifrons with his fourth face concealed.

seen, one full-face, the other two in profile. The existence of a triple Janus is further supported by the fact that his consort Diana or Jana was likewise *triceps*, *triformis*, *triplex*, *tergemma*.¹ The usual type of Janus was, however, two-headed, or rather two-faced; and his customary epithets are *biceps*, *biformis*, *bifrons*, *geminus*.² It would seem, therefore, that in Italy, as in Greece, the sky-god was at an early date conceived as of manifold, threefold, and twofold formation; though, so far as we know, no attempt was here made to equate the three faces of the god with the three provinces of nature over which he ruled.³

Jupiter, like Zeus, had the oak as his sacred tree.⁴ And probably for the same reason, *viz.* that it was the world-tree of southern Europe.⁵ This indeed must remain a mere conjecture since no description of an Italian world-tree has come down to us;⁶ but it may stand till a more convincing explanation is forthcoming. Many

¹ *Ov. met.* 7. 194 *triceps* Hecate: *Hor. od.* 3. 22. 4 *diva triformis*, *alib.*: *Ov. her.* 12. 79 *triplicis vultus*... *Dianae*, *alib.*: *Verg. Aen.* 4. 511 *tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae*.

² See De-Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 474 f.

³ *Folk-lore* xv. 290 f.

⁴ *Plin. nat. hist.* 12. 3 *arborum genera numinibus suis dicata perpetuo servantur*, ut *Iovi aesculus*, *Apollini laurus*, etc., *Verg. georg.* 2. 15 f. *nemorumque Iovi quae maxima frondet | aesculus, atque habitae Graiis oracula quercus*, 3. 332 f. *sicubi magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus | ingentis tendat ramos*, *Aen.* 3. 679 ff. *quales cum vertice celso | aëriae quercus . . . | constiterunt, silva alta Iovis*, *Serv. in Verg. eel.* 1. 17 *quercus in tutela Iovis est*, 7. 13 *sacra autem quercus, aut ipsam quam vult intelligi, aut universum genus, quod et Iovis et olim fatidica*, in *Verg. georg.* 3. 332 *omnis quercus Iovi est consecrata*, in *Verg. Aen.* 5. 129 *haec enim arbor (sc. ilex) in tutela Iovis est*, *Ov. met.* 1. 106 et *quae deciderant patula Iovis arbore glandes*, *Phaedr.* 3. 17. 2 f. *quercus Iovi | et myrtus Veneri placuit*, *Claud. de rapt. Proserp.* 2. 108 *quercus amica Iovi*.

⁵ *Folk-lore* xv. 292 ff.

⁶ It is noticeable, however, that Virgil speaks of the ordinary terrestrial oak in terms appropriate to a world-tree: *georg.* 2. 291 f. *aesculus in primis, quae, quantum vertice ad auras | aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit*,

centres of Jupiter-worship were marked by a sacred oak or a grove of sacred oaks. I have collected the available evidence of this practice in the *Classical Review* for October 1904;¹ and I shall here confine myself to citing a few typical cases of it. The earliest temple at Rome was that which Romulus himself planned for Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol, where grew "an oak held sacred by the shepherds."² Vediovis, the chthonian Jupiter worshipped in the dip of the same hill, appears on coins of the Fontei, Gargili, and Ogulni wearing a wreath of oak.³ Juno too, whose temple stood on the adjoining Arx, like Jupiter, had the oak as her sacred crown.⁴ On the Caelian, which in ancient times was covered with oak-woods and known as the Mons Querquetulanus,⁵ there was a Sacred Tree,⁶ presumably the tree of Jupiter Caelius who is represented on a bas-relief as standing beside his oak-tree.⁷ Tibur worshipped Jupiter under the titles Custos, Praestes, Territor,⁸ and pointed to a clump of three ancient oaks as the spot where its eponym Tiburnus or Tiburtus had been inaugurated.⁹ At Praeneste, where oaks were so abundant that Servius¹⁰ derives the name of the town from them ($\pi\rho\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$!), Fortuna Primigenia¹¹ had an oracular shrine close to the temple of Jupiter Arcanus:¹² the famous *sortes Praenestinae* were graven in

Aen. 4. 445 f. ipsa (sc. quercus) haeret scopulis, et, quantum vertice ad auras | aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit. Another possible reminiscence of the Yggdrasil-tree occurs in connexion with Jupiter Tigillus, i.e. Jupiter "the Beam," who, according to Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 11, was so-called "quod tamquam tigillus mundum contineret ac sustineret."

¹ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 360 ff.

² Liv. 1. 10. 5.

³ Babelon *monn. de la Rép.* i. 507, 532, ii. 266.

⁴ Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 92.

⁵ Tac. *ann.* 4. 65.

⁶ *Notitia Regionum* Regio ii. Caelemonium: continet . . . arborem sanctam.

⁷ Dessau 3080.

⁸ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv. 3557, Dessau 3401, 3028.

⁹ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 237.

¹⁰ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 678.

¹¹ Dessau 3684-3686.

¹² *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv. 2937, 2972; cp. R. Peter in Roscher *Lex* i. 1541, 59 ff.

archaic characters on tablets of oak.¹ Indeed, the common cult of the Latins, that of Jupiter Latiaris, was carried on in a grove of oaks² on the summit of the Alban Mount.

As Jupiter and Juno had their oaks, so had Janus and Diana (Jana) before them. Pliny³ states that "on the Vatican is an oak-tree (*illex*) older than Rome itself, bearing a bronze inscription in Etruscan letters, which proves that even in those early days the tree was thought worthy of religious veneration." This tree was probably sacred to Tina or Tinia, the Etruscan Jupiter,⁴ though the proximity of the Janiculum, an ancient seat of Janus, makes it possible that it was a Janus-oak. Virgil⁵ speaks of an oak sacred to Father Tiber, who was regarded as the son of Janus.⁶ When the Plebs seceded to the Janiculum, it was in a grove of oaks by the Tiber-side that Q. Hortensius the dictator passed the law which induced them to return.⁷ Further, the title *Quirinus*, which was borne alike by Janus⁸ and by Jupiter,⁹ I take to mean "the Oak-god," *quiris* being "the oaken spear" and *Quirites* "the men of the oaken spear."¹⁰ Juno also was entitled *Quiris* or *Quiritis*.¹¹ Diana, the original

¹ Cic. *de div.* 2. 85.

² Liv. 1. 31. 3 *ex summi cacuminis luco*. That this "lucus" was of oaks I infer from the tradition that the sow of Alba Longa was found "sub ilicibus" (Verg. *Aen.* 8. 43, Auson. *epist.* 7. 17).

³ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 237.

⁴ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 627 ff. According to Paul. *exc. Fest.* p. 161 Lindemann, the Etruscans had a settlement on the Vatican, whence they were expelled by the Romans in obedience to an oracle.

⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 10. 421 ff.

⁶ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 8. 330.

⁷ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 37, cp. Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 152 and the *vicus Aescleti* on the Tiber-bank opposite to the Janiculum (Pauly-Wissowa i. 682).

⁸ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 16 and 40.

⁹ Two tiles from Casteldieri (Dessau 3036) are inscribed [*Io*]vi *Quirino* and [*Io*]vi *Cyrin[o] C. Tati Max.*

¹⁰ See *Class. Rev.* xviii. 368 f.

¹¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 596 ff.

partner of Janus, was likewise an oak-goddess. One of her most famous cults was that on Mount Tifata near Capua; and *tifata* meant "oak-groves."¹ Another was on the oak-clad Mount Algidus;² *à propos* of which it should be observed that, when in 458 B.C. Roman envoys were sent to complain of a treaty broken by the Aequians, they were bidden to make their complaint to a huge oak-tree on Mount Algidus, under the shade of whose branches the Aequian commander had his quarters.³ The chief temple of Diana at Rome was on the Aventine,⁴ whose slopes were covered in early days with the oak-wood of Picus and Faunus.⁵ A "very great and venerable sanctuary of Diana" was on the Caeliolus,⁶ which formed part of the Mons Querquetulanus.⁷ Lastly, a relief in the Palazzo Colonna⁸ shows a statue of Diana standing beside an old but fruitful oak.

Substitutes for the oak are sometimes found in the cults of Italy, as in those of Greece.⁹ It is well known that the Greek word *φηγός*, "oak," appears in Latin as *fagus*, "beech."¹⁰ The beech was in fact a religious as well as a verbal equivalent of the oak. Varro¹¹ in his account of the Esquiline mentions the view that the hill derived its name from the oak-trees (*aesculi*) with which

¹ Paul. ex. Fest. p. 156 Lindemann: *Tifata* iliceta.

² Hor. *od.* 1. 21. 6, *carm. saec.* 69, *ep. od.* 3. 23. 9 f.

³ Liv. 3. 25.

⁴ Liv. 1. 45, *alib.*

⁵ Ov. *fast.* 3. 295.

⁶ Cic. *de har. resp.* 32.

⁷ Tac. *ann.* 4. 65.

⁸ Th. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* pl. 15. In *Class. Rev.* xviii. 370 fig. 3 I have reproduced it after C. Bötticher *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen* fig. 26.

⁹ *Folk-lore* xv. 296 ff.

¹⁰ On the fact and its significance see O. Schrader *Prehistorie Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* p. 272 f., *Reallexikon* p. 116 f., Frazer *The Golden Bough* iii. 347, n. 1.

¹¹ Var. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 49, where the words *aliū ab aesculetis* are a c.j. of C. O. Müller approved by Bunsen.

it was planted by Servius Tullius, and supports this derivation by the statement that there were in the vicinity a grove of beech-trees and a chapel of the Oak-wood Lares (*lucus...fagutalis et Larum Querquetulanum sacellum*). Elsewhere¹ he connects the name Fagutal with *fagus*, and speaks of a shrine of Jupiter Fagutalis as existing on the spot. There was also an ancient Dianium on the Fagutal.² It seems clear, therefore, that Jupiter, and perhaps Diana before him, was worshipped on the Esquiline as a beech-wood deity.³ Similarly on a hill called Corne near Tusculum there was an ancient cult of Diana in a grove of beech-trees.⁴ And, when Numa consulted Faunus in the oak-wood already mentioned, he bound his brows twice with a wreath of beech-leaves.⁵

Of the poplar as a surrogate for the oak⁶ there are few, if any, traces in Italian cult. Egeria, the goddess-wife of Numa, bore a name which was once spelt Aegeria,⁷ and should probably be connected with *αἰγείρος*, "a poplar."⁸ But *αἰγείρος*, as we have seen, originally denoted "an oak," and Egeria is described as an oak-

¹ *Ib.* 152. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 16, 37 *silvarum certe distinguebatur (sc. Roma) insignibus, Fagutali Iove etiam nunc ubi lucus fageus fuit, porta Querquetulana, etc.*, Paul. *exc. Fest.* p. 65 Lindemann: *Fagutal sacellum Iovis, in quo fuit fagus arbor, quae Iovis sacra habebatur.*

² *Class. Rev.* xvi. 380 n. 3.

³ Kern in Pauly-Wissowa iii. 158 justly regards Jupiter Fagutalis as the Roman counterpart of the Greek Zeus Φηγυραῖος (*Folk-love* xv. 296) and compares the Aquitanian god Fagus (Dessau 4531).

⁴ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 242.

⁵ Ov. *fast.* 4. 656.

⁶ *Folk-love* xv. 297 f.

⁷ This, according to De-Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 694, was at one time the common spelling of the name and is still to be found here and there in Latin literature, e.g. in Val. Max. 1. 2. 1. AECETIAE. POCOVOM on a bowl from Vulci was taken by Secchi (*Il musivo Antoniniano* p. 47, cp. *Bull. dell' Inst. arch.* 1843 p. 72, 127) to be an older form of Aegeria's name: but this is very doubtful, see Fabretti *Gloss. Ital.* p. 24 f.

⁸ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 366 n. 4.

nymph.¹ In a dedicatory inscription found at Praeneste,² a certain Caesius Taurinus speaks of his father as—

"Fortunae simulacra colens et Apollinis aras
Arcanumq. Iovem."

*Adoring Fortune's form, Apollo's altars,
And Jupiter of the Mysteries.*

But in place of "Arcanumque Iovem" various scholars have read "Aegeriumque Iovem."³ If this reading is sound, it affords an excellent parallel to Ægeria, "the oak-goddess," since Jupiter at Praeneste was an oak-god.⁴

The nut-tree too, since like the oak and the beech it bore edible fruit, was connected with Jupiter in popular parlance. "Nuts," says Servius,⁵ "are under the protection of Jupiter: wherefore also they are called *inglandes*, that is Jupiter's acorns (*Iovis glandes*)."

It is probable that the Italians, like the Greeks,⁶ regarded oak-mistletoe as the quintessence of the oak, and so connected it with the most brilliant manifestation of the sky-god, *i.e.* with the sun. The sun seems to figure in Italian religion as the wheel or orb of Fortuna,⁷ who

¹ Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 9 νομφών μὲν θρυάδων.

² *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv. 2852, Bücheler *Carm. Lat. epigraph.* 249.

³ *E.g.* S. V. Pighius *Hercules Prodicus* Antverpine 1587 p. 525 professes to have copied the inscription himself from the original marble base with the reading **AEGEIVMQ·IOVEM**, and J. Gruter *Inscr. Rom. Corp.* p. 72, 5 gives a drawing of it with the same reading. On the other hand, H. Dessau in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv. 2852 reads **ARCANVMQ·IOVEM**, and says of the inscription as a whole: "descripsit de Rossi, recognovi ipse post Mommsenum." The matter needs clearing up; which should be easy, since the base is still extant in the Barberini Gardens at Praeneste.

⁴ *Supra* p. 280 f.

⁵ Serv. in Verg. *Æl.* 8. 30, cp. Cloatius Verus *ap.* Macrobi. *Sat.* 3. 18. 4 *Inglaus* . . . quasi *Diuglaus*, id est Διὸς βάλανος and the context, Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 102 haec glans optima et maxuma ab Iove et glande *inglaus* est appellata. See further *Class. Rev.* xviii. 86.

⁶ *Folk-lore* xv. 424 ff.

⁷ *Class. Rev.* xvii. 421. M. Gaidoz, who first detected the true character of "Fortune's wheel," further pointed out that the dedication-day of the

at Rome, Praeneste, and perhaps elsewhere, was associated with an oak-Jupiter and Juno.¹ Now in Greece the solar wheel was referred to a special mistletoe-god, Ixion.² When, therefore, at Rome we find a cult of Fortuna *Viscata*,³ Fortuna "of the Mistletoe," it becomes probable that here too the sun was connected with oak-mistletoe. Again, Fortuna was a very ancient goddess of fertility,⁴ who is sometimes called the daughter of Jupiter.⁵ Fortuna with her wheel would thus be the Italian counterpart of Persephone with her wheel in the vase-paintings of the Greeks.⁶ Virgil, therefore, knew what he was about when he described the famous "golden bough" first as sacred to Juno of the nether world, whom in the context he calls Proserpina, and secondly as growing on an evergreen oak like mistletoe.⁷

I have next to show that in Italy, as in Greece,⁸ the reigning monarch was regarded as representative and vicegerent of the sky-god. To begin with, two or three

temple of Fors Fortuna was June 24 (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1501), i.e. the summer solstice, and concluded that Fortuna may be traced back to a solar deity (*Études de Myth. Gaul.* i. 56 ff.): see, however, Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 169 f.

¹ Roscher *Lex.* i. 1518, 1541 ff., 1546.

² *Class. Rev.* xvii. 420.

³ *Plut. quaest. Rom.* 74, *de fort. Rom.* 10.

⁴ Fortuna was specially worshipped by women under the titles Virgo, Virilis, Muliebris, Mammosa, etc. (Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 167 f.). An ancient bronze tablet (Dessau 3684) records an offering to Fortuna Primocenia nationu cratia, i.e. "in gratitude for fertility." Columella 10. 311 ff. bids gardeners offer their produce to Fors Fortuna when the harvest is ripe and the sun's heat greatest. Several symbols of the goddess, the cornucopia, the *modius* or grain-measure, and the ears of corn (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1503 ff., 1506), belong to one who was originally no mere personification of luck, but rather the bountiful spirit who brought to birth (Fortuna connected with *fero*) the offspring of all living things.

⁵ Dessau 3684, 3685.

⁶ Preller-Robert, p. 805 n. 1, *Class. Rev.* xvii. 176.

⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 138, 142, 205 ff.

⁸ *Folk-lore* xv. 299 ff.

legends have come down to us which tell how the early king was after his death identified with Jupiter. Thus Festus¹ says of Latinus, the eponymous king of the Latins, that "he vanished in a battle with Mezentius king of Caere, and was thought to have become Jupiter Latiaris." So too Aeneas, the founder of the Alban dynasty, disappeared in a battle with Mezentius or with Turnus, and was thenceforward worshipped under the title Jupiter Indiges.² Romulus, according to the usual tradition, was caught up to heaven in a thunderstorm, but subsequently appeared in more than mortal beauty to Proculus Julius, and announced that he had become the god Quirinus,³ *i.e.* "the oak-god." Nor was it only after death that the early Italian king claimed the attributes of divinity. Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, who fortified Alba Longa, was surnamed Iulus;⁴ and Iulus means "young Jupiter."⁵ The bright, but harmless flame, which is said to have played about his head, was appropriate to a representative of the sky-god: his grandfather on seeing it at once recognised the sign, and offered a prayer to Jupiter of the sky.⁶ Ascanius at his death left a son also called Iulus;⁷ and the poets speak of

¹ Fest. p. 193 Lindemann, cp. schol. Bob. in Cic. *pro Planc.* p. 256 Orelli.

² Liv. 1. 2. 6, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 56, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 259, 4. 620.

³ Liv. 1. 16. 1 ff., Ov. *fast.* 2. 475 ff., Plut. *vit. Rom.* 27 f., Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 56, *alib.*

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 1. 267 ff., *alib.*

⁵ [Aur. Vict.] *orig. gent. Rom.* 15. 5 igitur Latini Ascanium ob insignem virtutem non solum Iove ortum crediderunt, sed etiam per diminutionem, declinato paululum nomine, primo Iobum, dein postea Iulum appellarunt; a quo Iulia familia manavit, ut scribunt Caesar lib. ii. et Cato in Originibus. The name has been traced through the forms *Divulus*, *Iovilus*, *Iokilus*, *Iolius*, *Iulus*: see Bücheler in *Rhein. Mus.* 1889 xliii. 135, 1890 xliv. 323, Stolz *Hist. Gramm. d. lat. Spr.* i. 204, 460.

⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 2. 680 ff.

⁷ [Aur. Vict.] *orig. gent. Rom.* 17. 4, cp. Hieronym. *ad ann.* 870 Ascanius Iulium procreavit, a quo familia Iuliorum orta.

his descendants,¹ or even of the Romans in general, as Iuli²—a compliment doubtless to the Cæsars, for the great gens Julia claimed descent from Iulus.³ The name *Ascanius* appears to mean "he of the oak" (cp. ἄσκρα, "oak,")⁴ so that Ascanius Iulus may have meant neither more nor less than "the young oak-Jupiter"—a sufficiently remarkable appellation. According to tradition, his son disputed the succession with Silvius, the son of Aeneas by Lavinia, "and to Iulus in place of the sovereignty a certain holy power and honour was given, preferable to the royal dignity both for security and for ease; and this his posterity enjoy down to the present time, being called Julii for him."⁵ These words of Dionysius seem to record a genuine separation of the sacred from the secular functions of the Alban dynasty. Note, however, that Silvius and the line of Silvii who succeeded him,⁶ retained a cognomen suitable to representatives of a tree-god: *Silvius* means "he of the Forest." Moreover, since Virgil introduces them one and all as crowned with "civic oak,"⁷ this tree-god must have been an oak-Jupiter.⁸ Romulus Silvius, the eleventh in descent, claimed the powers of Jupiter in a very practical way. Ovid⁹ describes him as "Remulus . . . mimick o' the thunderbolt"; and

¹ *Aus. epist.* 16. 85 ff. ut quondam in Albae moenibus | supremus Aenea satus | Silvios Iulis miscuit.

² Val. Flacc. 1. 9 oceanus Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos, Sil. 3. 595 f. sacris augebit nomen Iulis | bellatrix gens bacifero nutrita Sabino. Prudentius actually uses the singular *Iulus* collectively of the Roman people: *perist.* 2. 454 f. agnoscat et verum Deum | errans Iuli caecitas.

³ Verg. *Aen.* 1. 288, *alib.*

⁴ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 363.

⁵ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 70.

⁶ See the lists in Marindin *Class. Dict.* s.v. "Silvius."

⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 772, a passage to which Dr. Frazer drew my attention. On a sarcophagus in the Mattei collection at Rome Rhea Silvia reclines beneath an oak-tree (C. Robert *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* iii. 2, p. 229, pl. 60).

⁸ *Infra* p. 307 f.

⁹ *Ov. met.* 14. 617 f.

Dionysius,¹ who calls him Alladius, says that "in contempt of the gods he contrived mock thunderbolts and noises like thunder, wherewith he thought to frighten men as though he were a god. But a storm fraught with rain and lightning falling upon his house, and the lake near which it stood swelling in an unusual manner, he was drowned with his whole family." Caeculus, the founder of Praeneste, where there was an oak-cult of Jupiter and Fortuna,² had been conceived by his mother from a spark off the hearth, and proved his divine origin to an incredulous crowd by enveloping them with flame.³ Probably both Alladius and Caeculus, like Salmoeneus in the Greek myth,⁴ claimed to be Jupiter incarnate.

In the first edition of his *Golden Bough* Dr. Frazer suggested that the *rex Nemorensis* or king of Diana's Wood at Nemi personated an oak-Jupiter.⁵ This suggestion, I confess, at the time failed to convince me. But by way of support for it I pointed out,⁶ in a review of Dr. Frazer's second edition, that at Aquileia Jupiter actually bore the title *Dianus*;⁷ and at Aquileia, I may add, there was also a cult of Imperial Diana.⁸ Partly on the strength of this Jupiter Dianus Dr. Frazer amended his original suggestion, and towards the close of 1903 told me that, according to his revised theory, the partner of Diana at Nemi must have been Dianus or Janus, a collateral form of Jupiter. I am now satisfied that he was from the outset on the right track, and that a Dianus or Janus

¹ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* i. 71.

² *Supra* p. 280 f.

³ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 678.

⁴ *Folk-lore* xv. 300, 312.

⁵ Frazer *Golden Bough* i. ii. 369 f., *ib.* iii. 450, 456 f.

⁶ *Class. Rev.* xvi. 372 n. 1.

⁷ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v. 783 Iovi Dianó · C · Herren · nius · Candidus
v · s · l · m.

⁸ Dessau 3245 f. prints in juxtaposition two very similar dedications to Diana, one to Diana Nemorensis now at Narnia, the other to Diana Augusta found at Aquileia. The cult of Diana Augusta at Aquileia is also attested by *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v. 771, 772.

of some sort was in fact worshipped along with Diana at Nemi, and was conceived as immanent in the person of the *rex Nemorensis*. The worship of a Jupiter Dianus (Janus) appears not only from an unfinished marble bust "probably intended to represent Jupiter,"¹ which was found by Lord Savile in one of the shrines on the spot, but also from a very remarkable Janiform *stèle* discovered in the same precinct. This *stèle*, which is inscribed SACR DIAN (presumably "Sacred to Diana," though conceivably "Sacred to Dianus"), is described as follows in the official *Catalogue*²: it "consists of the head of a beardless young man, and of an elderly man with a flowing beard. Both have on their foreheads fishes' fins, looking like small wings, aquatic plants cover the neck and chest, and scales cover the cheeks of both heads; the head of the young man has a small fin at each angle of the mouth, the beard of the elder head seems saturated with water, and the long damp hair of both heads seems to be blown about in the wind. Etc." I take it that this *stèle* portrays Dianus (Janus) as a water-god. Diana beside the lake of Nemi, which was called her "Mirror,"³ may well have been, as Th. Birt⁴ conjectured, not only a goddess of the bright sky,⁵ but also a goddess of the bright reflecting water. And Dianus (Janus), whom Nigidius Figulus held

¹ G. H. Wallis *Illustrated Catalogue of the Nottingham Art Museum* no. 832.

² *Id. ib.* no. 611, where the *stèle* is figured.

³ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 516 *Triviae lacus*: hic est qui Dianae speculum dicitur, cp. *Corp. inscr.* Lat. xiv. 2772.

⁴ Birt in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1005 f.

⁵ The torch-light procession to the Lake in honour of Diana Nemorensis took place on the Ides at the hottest time of year (*Stat. silv.* 3. 1. 52 ff.), i.e. on Aug. 13th, which was the birthday of Diana and, like all other Ides, a festival of Jupiter (W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* p. 198). For the inferences deducible from these facts see Birt. *loc. cit.* Diana was certainly a sky-goddess at Tibur: *Corp. inscr.* Lat. xiv. 3536 (Tibur) Dianae Caelesti sacrum etc.

to be a sun-god with Diana for his partner,¹ had an aquatic as well as a celestial aspect. He was, it will be remembered, the mate of Juturna, the old Latin goddess of lakes and rivers.² He was the father of Fontus,³ the god of springs and wells, whose Janiform head appears on coins of the gens Fonteia.⁴ He was the father also of the river Tiber, whose sacred oak is mentioned by Virgil,⁵ and of Canens the water-nymph, whom King Picus preferred to the Naiads of Nemi.⁶ It was said that, when the Sabines on one occasion attempted to force their way into Rome, a raging flood of waters burst out from the temple of Janus and drove them back.⁷ All this and more⁸ goes to prove that an aquatic bust of Janus is far from being incredible.⁹ Moreover, that this god was

¹ *Supra* p. 277 n. 1.

² *Supra* p. 277.

³ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29.

⁴ Babelon *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* i. 499.

⁵ *Supra* p. 281.

⁶ *Ov. met.* 14. 320 ff.

⁷ Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 9. 18, *Ov. fast.* 1. 267 ff., *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 1. 291.

⁸ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 41.

⁹ In what relation to this watery Janus, it may be asked, did Diana's favourite Virbius stand? Virbius is an ancient name of unknown origin, which appears on both sides of the Adriatic. According to Vibius Sequester (p. 20, 5 Oberlin) there was a river Virbius in Laconia and (*ib.* p. 22, 15) a spring Virvinus also in Laconia. These statements are supported by the name *Ἰρβιος*, which occurs as that of a mythical person connected with the cult of Artemis at Sparta (Paus. 3. 16. 9). Perhaps, then, Virbius in Italy, as in Greece, was an aboriginal stream-god, identified with the watery form of Janus. Note that *Irēos* was son of *Amphisthenes* and grandson of *Amphicles* (Paus. 3. 16. 9)—a pedigree well suited to a Janiform god; and that Janiform gods were not unknown in Laconia (*Folk-lore* xv. 284). The notion that *Virbius* meant "the man with two lives" (*vir bis*: *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 7. 761) might easily arise from his representation with a Janiform head; and the statement that certain persons took Virbius to be the Sun (*Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 7. 776) is intelligible in view of the fact that Janus as the partner of Diana was sometimes identified with that luminary (*supra* p. 277. n. 1, Roscher *Lex.* ii. 44). A list of temple property found at Nemi includes a head of the Sun; but this was probably a head of Jupiter Sol Sarapis (cp. Dessau 4395 ff.), since the temples in question seem to have been those of Isis (Dessau 4423). In the *Class. Rev.* xvi. 373 I proposed to regard the Janiform head from Nemi as that of a river-god Virbius: I still think that view possible, provided

incarnate in the *rex Nemorensis* I should infer from the following considerations. Nemi was the religious centre of a Latin federation. When, therefore, we find that a certain Manius Aegerius¹ or Egerius Laevius of Tusculum, a Latin dictator at the head of this federation, dedicated a grove to Diana at Nemi,² it becomes highly probable that the *rex Nemorensis* discharged the religious duties of the early Latin king, whose secular functions descended to the Latin dictator. In fact, I surmise that the separation of divine and human offices, which took place at Alba, had taken place at Nemi also; and that, just as Iulus obtained "a certain holy power and honour . . . preferable to the royal dignity both for security and *for ease*,"³ so Virbius, the first king of the Wood, was "to live *at his ease* in the grove of Diana."⁴ Again, as the secular king of Alba retained the name Silvius, "he of the Forest," so the secular dictator

that we identify Virbius with the water-Janus. Ov. *met.* 15. 539 f. makes Hippolytus say that when Diana transformed him into Virbius, she "added years to mine age and left me not a face that could be recognized." This description suits well the union of a youthful with an elderly head in our bust, and also the curious treatment of the two visages.

If it be thought that the authority of Vibius Sequester, an uncritical compiler, is not enough to justify the foregoing conclusions, I should prefer (with Dr. Frazer) to connect *Virbius* and *verbena*. *Verbena* could denote the branch (*ramus*) of a sacred tree (Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* 8. 65, *Aen.* 12. 120), so that *Virbius* may have been 'He of the sacred branch.' Dr. Postgate has suggested to me that *verber*, if it meant originally 'switch,' belongs to the same group of words, referable to the root of *viridis*. The *i* of *Virbius* (sometimes written *Verbius* in the MSS.: see *Class. Rev.* xvi. 380 n. 3) might, he thinks, come in through the influence of *vir* and *virgo*.

Which of these two theories is right, it is hard to say. We shall perhaps reach decisive considerations when we come to deal with the Celtic belief in vervain.

¹ Fest. p. 169 Lindemann.

² Cato *origg.* 2. frag. 58 Peter.

³ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 70 λέγει τις ἐξουσία προσετέθη καὶ τιμὴ τῷ τε δαυδόνῳ προσχούσῃ τῆς μοναρχικῆς καὶ τῇ βασιλευσύνῃ τοῦ βίου.

⁴ Schol. Pers. *sat.* 6. 56 Aesculapius eum vivum Dianae restituit, et acceptum, in luco suo otiose ut viveret, consecravit, et Virbium vocavit merito, quod bis in vitam prolatus esset.

of the Latins was named Aegerius or Egerius, "he of the Oak." I conceive that the Diana and Dianus, who, on Dr. Frazer's amended hypothesis, had a joint cult in an oak-grove beside the Lake of Nemi, may have been surnamed respectively Aegeria, "the oak-goddess," and Aegerius, "the oak-god": the former epithet, split off from Diana by a process familiar to students of ancient mythology, developed into the separate personality of Aegeria or Egeria, the oak-nymph; the latter epithet, borne by the Latin dictator, marks him as the temporal representative of Janus. Nay, more; for the man's name was also Manius, and from him arose a long line of illustrious Manii, a fact which occasioned the proverb *multi Mani Ariciae*, "There is many a Manius at Aricia."¹ Now an extant fragment of a Salian hymn² says of Janus:

"duonús cerús es oénus"

Thou alone art a good creator—

and we have it on the authority of Festus³ that in a Salian hymn the phrase *Cerus manus* meant "good creator." Whether these translations are right or wrong,⁴

¹ Fest. p. 169 Lindemann.

² Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 26. I follow the text of Bährens *Frag. poet. Rom.* p. 30.

³ Paul. *exc.* Fest. p. 91 Lindemann, cp. *ib.* p. 101 and Fest. p. 169.

⁴ On Cerus, who appears to have been the male counterpart of Ceres, see Aust in Pauly-Wissowa iii. 1994 and Wissowa in Roscher *Lex.* i. 867. A. Zimmermann in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1899 xxv. 30f. refers the praenomen *Manius*, the nomen *Manius*, the cognomen *Manianus*, and many other Latin names to *mānus*, "good." W. M. Lindsay *The Latin language* p. 183 accepts "good" as the root-meaning of a whole group of words from the parallel stems *māno-* and *māni-* (*mānus*, *Mānes*, *im-mānis* ? *māne*); and this was the view of Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 4 and Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 3. 13. On the other hand, if *māne* "morning" is to be dissociated from this group, and if *Manius* means "morning-born," as several ancient authorities declare (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 9. 38, Paul. *exc.* Fest. p. 102 Lindemann, Auct. *de praenominib.* 6), it was still a suitable name for a representative of Janus, who bore the title "Morning Father" (*Matutinus Pater*) as a god of the brightening sky (Hor. *sat.* 2. 6. 20 and Acro *ad loc.*).

it is clear that *manus* was a ceremonial epithet of Janus. But if so, *Manius* may well be a derivative of the same applied to the Manii of Aricia¹ as the representatives of the old divine kings, who were in their day and generation revered as Janus incarnate.² This conjecture is materially strengthened by the fact that the first *rex sacrorum* at Rome was Manius Papirius.³

At this point I may be pardoned for a brief digression, which will help to clear up one of the most familiar but at the same time least intelligible of Italian beliefs. If the *Manii* of Aricia were once regarded as successive incarnations of the sky-god called *manus*, and if we are to recognize the same word in *Manes*, the Latin term for ancestral ghosts or spirits,⁴ it seems probable that originally the forefather of each clan was revered as a Jupiter and thought to be reincarnated in his descendants. This explains at once the use of the plural *Manes* as pertaining to an individual and the belief that these *Manes* were gods (*di Manes*). A man's *Manes* were, it would seem, the whole series of his ancestors who had each in

¹ It may be objected that the name *Manius* should have been borne by the *rex Nemorensis* rather than by the dictator of Aricia. I conceive that originally the two were one and the same; and that, when the division between sacred and profane duties took place, the name *Manius* was given to the secular leader in token of the religious position occupied by his predecessors. It is perhaps significant that the names *Manlius*, *Manlia*, which appear to be cognate with *Manius* (so Zimmermann *loc. cit.*) were borne by several persons in a like position elsewhere. Thus a *rex sacrorum* at Bovillae was named Manlius (Dessau 4942), a *regina sacrorum* at Rome Manlia (Dessau 3941, 3941 a), and probably another *regina sacrorum* at Tibur Manlia (Dessau 1043).

² If I am right in equating Virbius with Janus (*supra* p. 290 n. 9), we obtain an additional argument for regarding the *rex Nemorensis* as an embodiment of Janus; for the first king of the Wood was named Virbius, as was also his son (Verg. *Aen.* 7. 761 ff.).

³ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 5. 1.

⁴ Steuding in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2318 ff. shows that the *di Manes* of Roman tombstones were "not the souls of the persons there buried, but ancestral spirits in general or the ancestral spirits of that family in particular."

turn been regarded as Jupiter incarnate. To this series, when he came to die, he added his own *genius* or birth-god, the divine spirit transmitted to him at the moment of conception on the *lectus genialis* or bridal-bed. This appears not only from such dedications as a tombstone¹ at Pola inscribed—

MÁNIBVS | ET GENIO | P. VATRÍ · SEVERI

To the Manes and Genius of P. Vatrius Severus,

or a funeral lamp² in the Museo Kircheriano painted with the words—

Helenus : suom genio M(a)nib inferis | mandat · stipem · strenam · lumen |
suom · secum · defert · ne quis · eum | solvat nisi · nos · qui · legamus.
Helenus commends his Genius to the Manes below. He brings down with him as contribution and gift his light. Let no man loose him but we who bind.

but also from definite statements made by various classical authors. Thus Martianus Capella³ says: "Inasmuch as the *Manes* are assigned to bodies at the moment of conception, when life is over they still delight in these bodies and haunting them are called *Lemures*. If they are supported by the virtue of their past life, they become the *Lares* of households and towns. But if they are depraved by the body, they are spoken of as *Larvae* and *Maniae*." We are here told that the *Manes* are embodied at conception; in other words, that the ancestral spirits are reincarnated in their descendants, presumably as *genii*. Servius⁴ says much the same: "Some hold that the *Manes* are identical with the *genii* of antiquity; and that, as soon as the body is conceived, two *Manes* are assigned to it, which do not desert it even in death, but on the consumption of the body still inhabit its

¹ Wilmanns *Exempla inscr. Lat.* 233. Others are cited by Orelli 1725, 1727.

² *Bull. dell' Inst. Arch.* 1860 p. 70. Garucci read "suom geniom dis inferis," but his facsimile has beyond a doubt SVOMGENIO M NIBINFERIS.

³ Mart. Cap. 2. 162 f.

⁴ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 63, cp. *ib.* 6. 743.

tomb." But if the *Manes* before birth become *genii*, conversely the *genii* after death become *Manes*, who are further identified with the *Lares* or *Larvae*. According to Arnobius,¹ "Varro declares at one time that the *Lares* are *Manes*, and that consequently the mother of the *Lares* was named *Mania*, at another that they are the so-called gods of the air and heroes; or again, following ancient authorities, he says that the *Lares* are *Larvae*, being as it were the *genii* of the departed² or souls of the dead." This identification of the *genius* with the *Lar*, i.e. with the *Lar familiaris*, who appears to have been the forefather of the family³ buried under the hearth,⁴ is indeed fairly well attested. Censorinus⁵ informs us that Granius Flaccus, a contemporary of Caesar, and many other writers held the *genius* and the *Lar* to be one and the same. Ausonius⁶ speaks of "the *genius* of our homes, to wit the *Lar* sprung from Larunda." And Ovid⁷ describes December, the month of the Larentalia, as "welcome to the *genii*." Lastly, Servius⁸ quotes

¹ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 41.

² The MSS. have "quasi quosdam genios effunctorum animas mortuorum." We should perhaps read "quasi quosdam genios defunctorum [animas mortuorum]," the last two words being a gloss. For other emendations see Oehler *ad loc.*

³ Plaut. *merc.* 834 *familiai Lar pater*, cp. Laberius *ap. Non.* 119, 27 *Merc. genius generis nostri parens*.

⁴ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 5. 64 *etiam domi suae sepeliebantur*: unde orta est consuetudo, ut dii penates colantur in domibus, *id.* 6. 152 *apud maiores*. . . omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur. unde [ortum est, ut lares colerentur in domibus, unde] etiam umbras larvas vocamus, Isid. *origg.* 15. 11. 1 *prius autem quisque in domo sua sepeliebatur*. See *Class. Rev.* xi. 32 ff. These statements are confirmed by the myths concerning the birth of Romulus (Plut. *vit. Rom.* 2), Servius Tullius (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 204), and Caeculus (Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 678). Servius Tullius in particular was called the son of the *Lar familiaris* (Plin. *loc. cit.*).

⁵ Censorin. *de die nat.* 3. 3.

⁶ Auson. *technop. de deis* 9.

⁷ Ov. *fast.* 3. 58.

⁸ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 63. The quotation is probably a paraphrase of Appul. *de deo Socr.* 688 f.

from Appuleius the following dictum: "*Manes* are souls of the better sort, which while they are in our body are called *genii*, but on quitting the body *Lemures*. When they attacked and infested a house, they used to be named *Larvae*; if on the other hand they were propitious and favourable, they were known as the *Lares* of the family." A perusal of the foregoing passages certainly confirms us in the belief that the *genius* or birth-god comes from the *Manes* and returns to the *Manes*; in fact, that the *genius* of every man is but the reincarnation of an ancestor's *genius*.

Moreover, it is highly probable that this *genius* was a Jupiter. To begin with, there is the important fact that in the case of a woman it was called her Juno.¹ Secondly, Caesius,² who professed to follow Etruscan authorities, declared that the *Penates* were Fortuna, Ceres, the *genius Iovialis*, and the masculine Pales: this *genius Iovialis* is evidently a family god of some kind, and must not be confused with the *genius Iovis* of literature and inscriptions,³ who was merely the *genius* of an anthropomorphic Jupiter. Thirdly, Augustine⁴ expressly identifies the *genius* with Jupiter—a conclusion based on the general similarity between the functions of the *genius* and those of Jupiter *progenitor*. Fourthly, the nearest analogy to the word *genius* is offered by Fortuna *Primigenia*, the oak-goddess of Praeneste. The meaning of her title is disputed. Some⁵ take it to denote "Eldest-born"; and this is supported by two inscriptions, which certainly call

¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 615 ff.

² Caesius *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 40. A little further on (*ib.* 43) we read: "Ceres, Pales, Fortuna, *Iovialis aut Genius*." The Etruscan Tages is described as *Genii filius, nepos Iovis* (Fest. s.v. "Tages" p. 273 Lind.).

³ Minuc. Fel. *Octav.* 29. 5, Dessau 4906: see Orelli 1730.

⁴ Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 13 quid est Genius? . . . hic est igitur quem appellant Iovem.

⁵ E.g. R. Peter in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1542.

her "daughter of Jupiter."¹ Others² translate "Authoress or Mother of all things," and point to Cicero's³ statement that the spot where the oaken tablets of Praeneste were found "is nowadays carefully railed in on account of the sanctuary of the boy Jupiter, who, seated as a suckling along with Juno on the lap of Fortuna and reaching towards her breast, is worshipped with the utmost reverence by mothers." The cult was singular, not to say unique. "Italy," says Mr. Warde Fowler,⁴ "presents us with no real parallel to this child-Jupiter"; and that he should have been conceived not only as a child but also as a father is still more mystifying. If, however, we may venture to interpret *Primigenia* as "First of the *genii* or birth-gods," we go some way towards reading the riddle, because every *genius* is from one point of view a father, from another a son. The infants Jupiter and Juno on the lap of Fortuna would, on this showing, be the typical male and female *genii*. The suggestion is strengthened by the constant coupling and occasional identification of Fortuna and Genius, or of Fortuna and Tutela (=female Genius), in inscriptions.⁵ Fifthly, there were but very few festivals in the Roman calendar sacred to Jupiter. One of these few was the Larentalia on December 23, which Ovid described as "welcome to the *genii*."⁶ Macrobius⁷ explains the connexion as follows: on this day the *flamen* (*Quirinalis*⁸) offered a solemn sacrifice to the *Manes* of Acca Larentia (the Mother of the Lares⁹), and the occasion was sacred to Jupiter because "the ancients held that souls were given

¹ Dessau 3684, 3685.

² See J. A. Hild in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1270. Cp. also Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 10 τῆς δὲ τύχης . . . ὡς πρωτότοκον καὶ τιθηνόν.

³ Cic. *de div.* 2. 85.

⁴ Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 225.

⁵ Roscher *Lex.* i. 1522 f., Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1276.

⁶ *Supra* p. 295.

⁷ Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 10. 15.

⁸ Gell. 7. 7. 7.

⁹ Roscher *Lex.* i. 5.

by Jupiter and after death returned again to him." D. Junius Brutus, the consul of 138 B.C., used to perform his family *parentatio* or funeral offerings not, as all other Romans did, in February, but in December.¹ May not this have been the older system kept up in the family of one who claimed descent from Jupiter?² Sixthly, the common representation of the *genius* as a snake³ suits Jupiter, who was known to appear as a snake on the *lectus genialis*.⁴ Seventhly, it explains the belief in a two-fold *genius*⁵; for, as Jupiter was the god now of the bright sky, now of the dark sky (Jupiter Summanus), so the *genius* was "changeable of aspect, white or black."⁶ But to all this it may be objected: if the *genius* was Jupiter, why is he never, except in the quasi-philosophic Augustine, called Jupiter? I suspect that the Romans refrained from mentioning their personal Jupiter from a fear lest others should work mischief with the name. The name of the tutelary god of Rome was never uttered for that reason, and Q. Valerius Soranus who divulged it came to a bad end.⁷ Servius⁸ mentions in this connexion that on the Capitol at Rome was a shield inscribed "To the Genius of the city of Rome, whether male or female,"

¹ Cic. *de leg.* 2. 54, Plut. *quaestt. Rom.* 34.

² *Infra* p. 303, Junius = "son of Jupiter." * Roscher *Lex.* i. 1623 f.

³ Aur. Vict. *de vir. illustr.* 49. 1.

⁴ Censorin. *de die nat.* 3. 3, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 743, cp. *ib.* 3. 63.

⁵ Hor. *epist.* 2. 2. 189. If the *genius* was a Janus rather than a Jupiter, its duplication is equally intelligible.

⁷ Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 18, Plut. *quaestt. Rom.* 61. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 277, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 65 and Solin. 1. 5 say that Valerius Soranus divulged the forbidden name of Rome; and Solinus explains (*ib.* 1. 1) that the name in question was Valentia. Lyd. *de mens.* p. 125, 5 Wünsch asserts that the mystic name was 'Ερως, i.e. Amor. But both must be late inventions: Valentia is but a Latinized form of 'Ρώμη, and Amor is a palindrome for Roma. Macrobi. *Sat.* 3. 9. 3 states that both the tutelary god of Rome and the Latin name of Rome itself were kept profound secrets, but does not attempt to disclose them.

⁸ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 2. 351.

and that the pontiffs used to pray "Jupiter Optimus Maximus, or by what other name thou wouldst be called." This raises a suspicion that the Genius of Rome was the Capitoline Jupiter. And it is noteworthy that Augustine¹ quotes from Varro the one surviving couplet of the imprudent Valerius Soranus—

"Iuppiter omnipotens regum rerumque deumque
progenitor genetrisque deum, deus unus et omnes."
*Almighty Jupiter, father of kings and things
And gods, yea mother of gods, whole god and sole.*—

the very couplet, it will be observed, which Augustine cited in support of his contention that the *genius* was Jupiter.² However that may be, we are, I believe, justified in maintaining that the family *genius*, the godhead incarnate in the founder of the clan, and passed on from father to son, was none other than Jupiter. Appuleius³ speaks of "prayers addressed to *Genius* and *Genita*": the former he describes as *Manium deum*⁴; the latter reappears in Plutarch⁵ and Pliny⁶ as *Genita Mana*, a birth-goddess to whom dogs (the offering appropriate to the *Lares Praestites*⁷) were sacrificed in order that none of those born in the house might become *manus*, i.e. might die. In both cases the epithet adds weight to my conclusion that the deity incarnate was the sky-god who bore the old religious title *manus*.⁸

But it is time to resume the thread of our main argument. At Rome too, as throughout Latium, there are

¹ Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 9.

² *Supra* p. 296.

³ Appul. *de deo Socr.* 687.

⁴ *Id. ib.* 689 nomine Manium deum nuncupant. The older texts give the variant "*Manem deum*."

⁵ Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 52.

⁶ Plin. *nat. hist.* 29. 58.

⁷ Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* pp. 101, 351 f.

⁸ If Birt is right in urging that another name for the *genius* was *cerus* (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1615), my case is still further strengthened, since the phrase *cerus manus* was used of Janus by the Salii (*supra* p. 292).

several indications that the king was deemed an embodiment of Janus or Jupiter. In the first place, Janus is said to have reigned as a king on the Janiculum,¹ which probably implies that the local king personated Janus and bore his name. A very ancient hymn of the Salii² saluted Janus as "first and foremost of divine kings." And just as Iulus, the human Jupiter of Alba Longa, founded the gens Julia, so the human Janus of the Janiculum may have founded the gens Diania and the gens Dianidia mentioned in Roman inscriptions.³

Now, a double Janus would be represented better by two kings than by one. It is, therefore, I venture to think, highly significant that there was a marked and persistent tendency towards a dual kingship both at Rome and elsewhere in Italy. My suggestion is that the two kings, twins if possible, were regarded as the most fitting embodiment of the two-fold sky-god.⁴ Procas, king of Alba, left his kingdom to his two sons Amulius and Numitor on condition that they should take it in turns to reign for a year⁵—a rule that recalls on the one hand the alternate life of the Dioscuri,⁶ on the other the alternate office of the consuls.⁷ Romulus and Remus on coins of Rome,⁸ like the Dioscuri on coins of Greece,⁹

¹ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29, Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 7. 19, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 8. 319.

² *Ap. Varr. de ling. Lat.* 7. 26. I follow the text of Bährens *Fragmenta poetarum Romanorum* p. 30: promēlios dévom récum.

³ De-Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 612.

⁴ Dr. Frazer has told us that the Baronga of S.E. Africa "bestow the name of *Tilo*—that is, the sky—on a woman who has given birth to twins, and the infants themselves are called the children of the sky" (*The Golden Bough* i. 91).

⁵ [Aur. Vict.] *de vir. illustr.* 1. 1, cp. Strab. 229.

⁶ Roscher *Lex.* i. 1155 f.

⁷ *Ib.* iii. 482.

⁸ S. W. Stevenson *Dict. of Rom. Coins* p. 914.

⁹ Roscher *Lex.* i. 1171 f., 1176 f., ii. 2535. Their connection with Juturna at Rome is noteworthy (M. Albert *Le culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* p. 35 ff., cp. *supra* p. 271 f.).

are represented with two stars above their heads—a recognized numismatic emblem of divinity.¹ Romulus, after the death of Remus, was bidden by an oracle to set an empty throne by his side with a sceptre and crown for Remus, in order that the two brothers might still seem to be associated in the government.² Again, the tradition that Romulus later ruled conjointly with Titus Tatius the Sabine also points to the custom of a dual kingship. When the Tarquins were driven out, the same ancient principle reasserted itself and produced that characteristically Roman institution, the double consulship. There was a certain dramatic fitness in the legend that the battle of lake Regillus, at which the tyrant was finally beaten, was won for the consuls by the help of the great twin brethren Castor and Pollux. The *duo-viri* or highest magistrates in colonies and municipal towns throughout Italy, who sometimes bore the name of praetors,³ and once at least that of dictators,⁴ may have been in every case the political outcome of a conception which was in its origin religious. The same belief possibly contributed to the later duplication of the Caesars: it is to be observed that the *bisellium* or honorary "seat for two" belonged to them in virtue of their divinity.⁵

The god thus represented by the Roman kings and by their republican and imperial successors was, we

¹ Tradition called them the sons of Mars by Rhea Silvia: but this, as we shall see later (*infra* p. 320 f.), does not conflict with their relation to Jupiter. For the moment it may suffice to point out that they were found under the *figus Ruminalis* or *Rumina*, and that the Romans worshipped a Jupiter *Ruminus* (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 11). On the fig-tree as a substitute for the oak of Jupiter see *Folk-lore* xv. 299 (Zeus *Συκδαίος* etc.).

² Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 276.

³ Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. des Ant.* ii. 416 s.v. "*duumviri juridicundo*."

⁴ At Fidenae we hear first of *duoviri* (Dessau 5943) and subsequently of two dictators (Dessau 6224).

⁵ E. Beurlier *Essai sur le culte rendu aux empereurs romains* p. 48.

have seen, a sky-god, whose sacred tree was the oak. Thus it was from Egeria, the oak-nymph, that Numa learnt how to control the thunderstorms of Jupiter Elicius.¹ Numa, the priestly king, husband of Egeria, may indeed have been looked upon as Jupiter incarnate. One of his earliest acts was to establish the cult of Jupiter Terminalis²; and M. Babelon remarks the close resemblance between the bust of Jupiter Terminalis on coins of the gens Terentia and the bust of Numa on coins of the gens Calpurnia—"c'est évidemment la même tête et les mêmes traits."³ But the best proof that a Roman king was regarded as an oak-Jupiter lies in the nature of his regalia. A large gold crown of oak-leaves enriched with acorns of precious stones and golden ribands was worn by him⁴ as viceroy of the oak-god, while an ivory sceptre with an eagle perched upon it⁵ proclaimed the human Jupiter.⁶ His throne was hollowed out of a tree stump.⁷ The *fascēs* borne before him by the lictors consisted in each case of an axe bound up in a bundle of rods and fastened with a strap of red leather.⁸ It is probable that the axe was the symbol of Jupiter,⁹ and that the rods were used for purposes of divination¹⁰: both, no doubt, came to be regarded as means of punishment, but their primary significance appears to have been religious, not secular.

The first Roman consuls were doubtless chosen with the utmost care, in order that the kings as representatives

¹ *Supra* p. 269.

² *Plut. vit. Num.* 16, *Dionys. ant. Rom.* 2. 74.

³ Babelon *monn. de la Rép. rom.* ii. 486.

⁴ *Tertull. de coron. mil.* 13, *Plin. nat. hist.* 21. 6, 33. 11, *alib.*

⁵ *Dionys. ant. Rom.* 3. 61 f. *Cp. Folk-lore* xv. 371 f.

⁶ See further *Class. Rev.* xviii. 361 f.

⁷ *Lyd. de mag.* 1. 7, *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 1. 506, 7. 169. *Cp. Class. Rev.* xvii. 406, 413, *Folk-Lore* xv. 416.

⁸ *Daremberg-Saglio Dict. ant.* iii. 1239.

⁹ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 362, *cp. ib.* 365.

¹⁰ *Cp. the custom of the ancient Germans described by Tac. Germ.* 10.

of the sky-god might have worthy successors. The two candidates selected were L. Junius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus. Apart from their other qualifications, these two bore well-omened names. For Junius means "the son of Jupiter,"¹ and his colleague was the son of Egerius, "the oak-man."² It is also noteworthy that, when Junius had fallen in battle the same year, the consul elected in his room was Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, whose name suggests the god of light (*lux*, cp. *Lucetius*) in his early three-headed (*triceps*) form. Other members of the same family succeeded him: T. Lucretius Tricipitinus was consul in 508 B.C. and again in 504 B.C.; L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, in 462 B.C.; Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus, in 429 B.C. Further, L. Tarquinius Collatinus, though he was the son of Egerius, yet bore the ill-starred name Tarquinius; and it was, according to Livy,³ precisely on account of his name that he was forced to abdicate and go into exile. In his place the people elected P. Valerius, who bore a well-omened name, and came of a family which, as Niebuhr⁴ suggests, may have exercised kingly power over the Sabines at an early date.

Time after time during the republican era Rome witnessed a recrudescence of this desire to find a Jupiter in her popular heroes. The most remarkable case of it is perhaps that of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major. The people were anxious to make him "perpetual consul

¹C. Pauli in Bezenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1899 xxv. 214 f. cites two Latin inscriptions, *Au · Fabi · Jucnus* and *M · Fabius · Junius*, and contends that *Jucnus* = *Jovig(e)nus* and *Junius* = *Jov(i)-nius* are the same name in a complete and clipped form respectively. Cp. *infra* p. 313, n. 8.

²Liv. 1. 57. 6, cp. 1. 34. 3, 1. 38. 1.

³Liv. 2. 2. 3 non placere nomen, periculosum esse libertati, cp. *Piso frag.* 19 Peter.

⁴Niebuhr *Hist. of Rome* i. 538.

and dictator," in other words, to make him king, to erect statues to him everywhere even on the Capitol in the shrine of Jupiter, and to pass a decree that a portrait-figure of him in triumphal attire should be seen to issue from the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.¹ Indeed, it appears that a portrait of Scipio was actually set up in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and fetched thence whenever it was needed for a funeral procession of the gens Cornelia.² Scipio never undertook any business, whether public or private, without first resorting to this temple, where he remained for long sunk in contemplation: hence the populace came to believe that he was in reality of divine origin.³ Denarii of the gens Cornelia⁴ represent on the obverse a helmeted head of Scipio surmounted by a star—a symbol of divinity which we have met with already: the reverse shows Jupiter with sceptre and thunderbolt standing between Juno, who has a sceptre, and Minerva, who is placing a wreath or crown upon his head. The latter design is meaningless, unless we assume that Jupiter stands for the victorious Scipio. Another denarius of the same gens⁵ has Jupiter with sceptre and uplifted thunderbolt driving a four-horse chariot over a snaky giant, the blank spaces of the sky being filled with the sun, moon, and a couple of stars. M. Babelon, following Cavedoni, holds that Jupiter here denotes Scipio's brother, L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus triumphing over Antiochus the Great, King of Syria. A denarius⁶ struck half-a-century later by another L. Cornelius Scipio

¹ Liv. 38. 56. 12 f., Val. Max. 4. 1. 6.

² Val. Max. 8. 15. 1, App. *de reb. Hisp.* 23. The statues of the kings on the Capitol (Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 9 f., 34. 22 f.) stood in front of the door of the temple, not within it (App. *de bell. civ.* 1. 16).

³ Liv. 26. 19. 5 ff., App. *de reb. Hisp.* 23. Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 49. 1 Iovis filius creditus.

⁴ Babelon, *monn. de la Rép. rom.* i. 396 f.

⁵ *ib.* i. 393 f.

⁶ *ib.* i. 399.

Asiagenus represents Jupiter with thunderbolt and sceptre in a galloping four-horse chariot, and, according to M. Babelon, refers to the same event. When Cicero¹ speaks of Gnaeus and Publius Scipio, who fell in Spain, as "the two thunderbolts of our empire"; when Lucretius² terms Scipio Major "a thunderbolt of war"; when Virgil and Silius, in imitation of him, call Scipio Major and Scipio Minor "the two thunderbolts of war" and "the thunderbolts of our race";³ when Valerius Maximus,⁴ recording the degeneracy of Scipio's son, exclaims "Gracious gods! Ye suffered this thunderbolt to issue in utter obscurity!", they may be, as Mr. H. A. J. Munro⁵ conjectured, taking the name *Scipio* to mean "a thunderbolt" (*σκηπτός*), but they may also have been appealing to the primitive sentiment of the Roman people, which identified the hero of the moment with Jupiter himself. Again, Manius Acilius Glabrio, who as consul in 191 B.C. had won a great victory over Antiochus III., not only celebrated the customary triumph on his return to Rome, but was subsequently honoured as more than a mere man. For his son erected a statue of him covered with gold, the first of its kind in Italy.⁶ Another member of the same family, Manius Acilius Balbus, took part in the defeat of Perseus, king of Macedonia—an exploit commemorated on coins⁷ of his son, which show him standing as Jupiter in a four-horse chariot. He holds a sceptre in his left hand, and a thunderbolt in his right; while his chariot is driven

¹ Cic. *pro. Balb.* 34.

² Lucr. 3. 1034.

³ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 842 f., Sil. 7. 106 f.

⁴ Val. Max. 3. 5. 1.

⁵ In his note on Lucr. 3. 1034.

⁶ Liv. 40. 34. This statue may have represented him in the guise of Hercules. For it is as Hercules that he figures on later coins of the family (Babelon *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* i. 103 f.) rather than as Jupiter (Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* i. pl. 8, 17). The gilded statue was dedicated in the temple of Pietas (Val. Max. 2. 5. 1).

⁷ Morell *Thesaurus Fam. Rom.* Acilia pl. 1, 4, cp. Babelon *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* i. 101 f.

by Victory. Possibly the name Manius, which constantly occurs in this ancient family, implies that its members regarded themselves as incarnations of Janus or Jupiter. The populace dubbed Marius after his victory over the Cimbrians in 101 B.C. the third founder of Rome, erected statues to him wholesale, and in their private rejoicings offered incense and libations "to the gods and Marius."¹ He fell in with their humour, and subsequently made a point of using a *cantharus* for his drinking-vessel in order that he might be compared with Father Liber,² i.e. Jupiter Liber.³ Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, when he once gained a victory over Sertorius in Spain, was proclaimed *imperator* and received with altars and sacrifices wherever he went. He accepted sumptuous entertainments, at which he sat drinking in triumphal robes, i.e. in the costume of Jupiter.⁴ Suddenly a mechanical figure of Victory would descend from the ceiling amid the sound of rolling thunder, bringing a golden trophy or a crown for his "celestial head," while choruses of women and children chanted epinician hymns.⁵ Nor must we hastily accuse Metellus of blasphemy: indeed he was *pontifex maximus* in 65 B.C., and retained the office till his death. It was but another example of the great man claiming to be a greater than man. Pompey in like manner was marked as a hero by his surname *Magnus*: but, perhaps because his family was of plebeian origin, we find him identified with Janus, not Jupiter. On a first-brass of his son Sex. Pompeius Magnus⁶ occurs a laureated head of Janus with the features of Pompey the Triumvir.

It may be surmised that these sporadic examples of

¹ Plut. *vit. Mar.* 27, Sen. *de ira* 3. 18. 1.

² Val. Max. 3. 6. 6.

³ Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.* p. 105 f., 126 f.

⁴ *Infra* p. 307.

⁵ Sallust *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 13. 7 f., Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 5. 488, Val. Max. 9. 1. 5, Plut. *vit. Sert.* 22.

⁶ Babelon *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* ii. 351.

would-be Jupiters could be indefinitely multiplied, if we possessed more information with regard to the early history of the Italian *gentes*. For instance, the *gens Iuventia* of Tusculum, *Iuventia*¹ or *Iuentia*² as it was sometimes spelt,—must have traced its descent from a Jupiter.³ Moreover, in Campania a whole series of *Iuvilas* or heraldic columns has been found, one of them expressly dedicated to Jupiter Flagius and many others erected within a precinct of Juno Lucina.⁴ These columns, marked with the armorial bearings of this or that family, represent—if I am right in my conjecture⁵—the ancestor of the family in his character as a human Jupiter. However that may be, it is certain that the Roman who so distinguished himself in war as to deserve the honour of a triumph acted for the time being the part of Jupiter Capitolinus. "The general," says Mr. G. Mc. Neile Rushforth,⁶ "appeared in the procession in the character of the god. His dress was the same, and it was the property of the temple, and brought thence for the occasion. So, too, the golden crown [of oak-leaves] and the sceptre with its eagle belonged to the god; the body of the general was, in early times at least, painted red like that of the image in the temple; and the white chariot horses used by the emperors, and earlier by Camillus, recalled the white steeds of Jupiter and the Sun." Another crown of oak-leaves and acorns was the *corona civica* given to the man who had slain an enemy and rescued a fellow-citizen from him. It was originally of holm-oak (*illex*), but later of evergreen-oak (*aesculus*)—that being the tree specially sacred to Jupiter—or of

¹ *Bull. epigraph.* 1884 p. 112 *Iuventia Victoria*.

² G. Wilmanns *Exempla inscriptionum Latinarum* 30, 2820 c, *alib.*

³ See C. Pauli in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge* 1899 xxv, 214.

⁴ Conway *Italic Dialects* i. 101 ff. ⁵ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 375.

⁶ In Smith-Wayte-Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 894, where references for each statement are given.

evergreen-oak and ordinary oak (*quercus*) mixed; but it regularly had acorns. Once won, it might be always worn; and it conferred various rights on the wearer—*e.g.* at the public games even senators stood up to do him honour.¹ Probably the citizen who wore the oak-crown of Jupiter² was, like the *triumphator*, regarded as in some sort a Jupiter incarnate. Again, a Roman magistrate who contracted a treaty seems to have posed as Jupiter. "The reason," says Servius,³ "why the sceptre is used when a treaty has to be made is this. Our forefathers on all such occasions were wont to produce an image of Jupiter. This was difficult, especially when the treaty was made with a distant tribe. A way out of the difficulty was for them to hold a sceptre and so copy, as it were, the image of Jupiter; for the sceptre is peculiar to himself."

It would seem, then, that even in republican times the latent belief in a human Jupiter made itself felt on various occasions and in various ways. When the republic passed into an empire, this belief gathered fresh force from the altered political circumstances of the day. More and more the emperor came to be looked upon as the one human Jupiter—indeed, as the one Jupiter worthy of the name, whether on earth or elsewhere. The whole subject of emperor-worship has been so carefully studied by M. l'Abbé Beurlier⁴ that I shall content myself with indicating those cases in which the emperor was definitely identified with Jupiter in particular.

First and foremost is the case of Julius Caesar, who claimed descent from Iulus and was probably aware that the blood of Jupiter ran in his veins. At least, as early as 68 B.C., when he was a simple quaestor, he proclaimed in the course of a funeral oration that on his father's

¹ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16, 11 ff.

² Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 92, vit. *Coriol.* 3.

³ Serv. in. Verg. *Aen.* 12, 206.

⁴ E. Beurlier *Essai sur le culte rendu aux empereurs romains* Paris 1890.

side he was related to Venus and "immortal gods."¹ Twenty years later, after the victory of Pharsalus, the senate decreed that Caesar's chariot should be set up on the Capitol opposite to that of Jupiter, and that a statue of him standing upon a globe should bear the inscription—"He is a demigod" (*ἡμίθεος*).² Caesar at first disapproved of these flatteries, and even had the obnoxious word effaced.³ But not long afterwards an ivory statue of him, and subsequently a complete chariot, was carried in procession along with the statues of the gods, while another statue of him inscribed *deo invicto* (*θεῷ ἀνικτῶ*) was set up in the temple of Quirinus, and a third on the Capitol beside the old kings of Rome.⁴ Soon he was actually worshipped under the title of Jupiter Julius and provided with M. Antonius as his priest (*flamen Dialis*)⁵—a most singular instance of history repeating itself; for we have seen that the Julii of yore were human Jupiters. Caesar was, as a later tragedian⁶ puts it, "become the peer of Jove." The honours decreed to him were recorded in letters of gold on tablets of silver and deposited beneath the feet of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁷ How far he believed in them himself, it is hard to say. When Antonius saluted him as King and placed a laurelled diadem on his head, Caesar replied that Jupiter alone was king of Rome and sent the diadem to the Capitol:⁸ but this may have been a matter of policy. After his assassination, the people were with difficulty restrained from cremating his body in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus,⁹ while the authorities conferred upon him the title of *divus*,¹⁰ for which the less accurate but more

¹ Suet. *Caes.* 6.² Dio 43. 14.³ *Ib.* 43. 21.⁴ *Ib.* 43. 45.⁵ *Ib.* 44. 6, cp. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 110.⁶ [Sen.] *Oet.* 500 f. gentium domitor, Iovi | aequatus.⁷ Dio 44. 7.⁸ *Ib.* 44. 11, Suet. *Caes.* 79, Plut. *vit. Caes.* 61, *alib.*⁹ Suet. *Caes.* 84, App. *de bell. civ.* 2. 148.¹⁰ Dessau 73, 73 a, *alib.*

complimentary *deus* was sometimes substituted.¹ The great comet (Halley's), which for seven nights after Caesar's death glittered in the sky,² contributed not a little to confirm the official apotheosis in the minds of the people at large. Octavius set up a bronze statue of Caesar with a star above his head in the temple of Venus.³ The temple of Divus Julius appears on a coin with a star affixed to its pediment.⁴ Numismatic busts, bas-reliefs, and statues were all distinguished by the same emblem, till the *Iulium sidus* or *Caesaris astrum* passed into a poetic commonplace.⁵

Caesar had shown the way: Augustus, though with some apparent hesitation, followed it. Since the rôle of Jupiter had already been taken by Caesar, he took that of Apollo. A statue of him under the guise of this god was erected in the famous Library of the Palatine Apollo.⁶ Popular report said that he gave private banquets at which a dozen diners appeared dressed as the twelve gods and goddesses, the costume of Apollo being reserved for him.⁷ Hence in time of famine people spoke of him as Apollo Tortor, "Apollo the Torturer."⁸ Augustus did more to foster the cult of Apollo than any Roman before or after him; and it has been suggested⁹ that in so doing he

¹ Dessau 72 Genio dei Iuli parentis patriae, quem senatus populusque Romanus in deorum numerum rettulit, 6343 M. Salvio Q. f. Venusto decurioni [benefic. dei Caesaris, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x. 3903, 5, Dittenberger *Sylloge inscr. Graec.* 347 Γάιον Ἰούλιον Παῖσιν υἱὸν Καίσαρος ... τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀπειρὸς καὶ Ἀρροδὲ[ι]της θεόν, *Corp. inscr. Graec.* 2369, cp. Suet. *Caes.* 88 in deorum numerum relatus est non ore modo decernentium sed et persuasione volgi, Avid. Cass. 11. 6, haec (sc. clementia) Caesarem deum fecit, and the passages from the poets cited by De-Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 14 s.v. "Caesar deus."

² Plut. *vit. Caes.* 69, Sen. *quaest. nat.* 7. 17. 2, alib.

³ Dio 45. 7, cp. Suet. *Caes.* 88. ⁴ Babelon *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* ii. 59.

⁵ Hor. *od.* 1. 12. 47, Verg. *eccl.* 9. 47, alib. See Beurlier *op. cit.* p. 9 f.

⁶ Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* 4. 10, comm. Cruq. in Hor. *epist.* 1. 13. 17, cp. *Corp. inscr. Graec.* add. 2903 f.

⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 70.

⁸ *Id.* ib.

⁹ Roscher *Lex.* 1. 448.

was actuated by the desire to promote the worship of Vediovis, a god commonly identified with Apollo¹ and specially venerated by the gens Julia.² But those who had seen Jupiter himself in Caesar were prepared to find the same god incarnate in his adopted son. Horace³ speaks of Jove as thundering in heaven, of Augustus as his visible vicegerent on earth. Virgil⁴ does not know whether Augustus will choose to be a land-god or a sea-god: an Egyptian poet⁵ makes answer "He is both" in the following extravagant effusion—

*To Caesar lord of sea and lord of shore,
Zeus sprung from Zeus, the Father's freeborn Son,
Whom Europe and whom Asia own as king,
Star of all Hellas, risen as Saviour Zeus.*

After this one does not wonder that a bronze medallion of Tiberius struck at Turiasso in Spain shows Augustus with radiated head grasping a thunderbolt as though he were Jupiter.⁶ A signed cornelian in the Orleans collection is described by S. Reinach⁷ as "Jupiter ou Auguste en Jupiter." And a bronze from Herculaneum, now at Naples,⁸ represents Augustus thunderbolt in hand. Shortly before his death a statue of him was struck by lightning and the word *Caesar* on its base lost the initial *C*: pious

¹ Folk-lore xv. 421 n. 300. Possibly Virgil hints at such a desire in *georg.* 1. 36 f. *nam te nec sperant Tartara regem, | nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido.*

² Dessau 2988 an ancient altar from Bovillae inscribed *Vediovei Patrei genteiles Iuliei. Vediovei] aara lege Albana dicata.*

³ Hor. *od.* 3. 5. 1 ff.

⁴ Verg. *georg.* 1. 24 ff.

⁵ Corp. *inscr.* Græc. 4923 (Philae) *Καίσαρι παντοκράτορι καὶ ἀνέλεως κρατοῦντι, | Ζαυτὶ τῷ ἐκ Ζαυτὸς πατρὸς Ἑλευθερίῳ, | θεσπότηρ Ἑυρώπας τε καὶ Ἀσίας, δοτῶν ἀνάσας | Ἑλλάδος, [δε] Σωτ[ήρ] Ζεὺς ἀν[έ]λε[ι]ς Ν[ε] μέγας κ.τ.λ.,* cp. 4715 (Denderah) *ὄνερ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, θεοῦ υἱοῦ, Διὸς Ἑλευθερίου, Σεβαστοῦ, κ.τ.λ.*

⁶ Stevenson *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 399.

⁷ S. Reinach *Pierres grandes* p. 142, pl. 129, 23.

⁸ S. Reinach *Répertoire de la statuaire* 1. 190, 3. Cp. *infra* p. 317.

folk concluded that he would live but C, *i.e.* a hundred, days longer and then become an *aesar*, *i.e.* the Etruscan term for a god.¹ An eagle hovering round his head in the Campus Martius was regarded by him as an omen;² and when his body was burnt in the same Campus an eagle was let loose from the pyre to carry his soul heavenwards,³ and an old praetor declared on oath that he had seen the soul of Augustus rise into the sky.⁴ The great sardonyx cameo of La Sainte Chapelle shows Augustus with a veil and rayed crown on his head, a sceptre in his hand, upborne by a figure in Phrygian attire, perhaps representing Ascanius Iulus: enthroned below him is the emperor Tiberius, identified with Jupiter by means of the aegis spread upon his lap.⁵ On the yet finer cameo at Vienna known as the "gemma Augustea" Augustus with sceptre, eagle, etc., is enthroned as Jupiter, while a female figure, probably Oecumene, the "World," holds an oak-wreath above his head.⁶ Augustus' wife Livia, who long survived him, is called on Greek coins "the goddess Livia" or "Livia Juno";⁷ and Prudentius⁸ speaks of Juno the wife of Jupiter and Livia as "the two Junos." But, since Juno was sister as well as wife of Jupiter, the author of the tragedy *Octavia*⁹ addresses his heroine as "second Juno, sister and spouse of Augustus."

Caligula translated the poetic fiction into fact, committed incest with his sisters, and called himself Jupiter on the strength of it.¹⁰ He assumed the title Optimus Maximus,

¹ Suet. *Aug.* 97.

² *Id. ib.*

³ Dio 56. 42. Cp. *Folk-lore* xv. 389 ff.

⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 100, Dio 56. 46.

⁵ Furtwängler *Ant. Gemm.* ii. 269, pl. 60. ⁶ *Id. ib.* ii. 257, pl. 56.

⁷ Stevenson *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 247 ΘΕΑ.ΛΙΒΙΑ or ΛΙΒΙΑΝ.ΗΡΑΝ.

⁸ Prudent. *Symmach.* 1, 292 f. duarum | Iunonum.

⁹ [Sen.] *Octav.* 224 ff. tu quoque terris altera Iuno | soror Augusti | coniunxque graves vince dolores.

¹⁰ Aur. Vict. *de Caesar.* 3. 9, *epit.* 3. 4 f., Dio 59. 26.

as though he were himself the peer of Jupiter Capitolinus, with whom he affected to hold constant and private intercourse. He had a famous Greek statue of Olympian Zeus brought to Italy, intending to replace its head by a head of himself.¹ When the ship conveying it perished in a thunderstorm, Caligula resolved to have thunder of his own. He had a bolt constructed, which could be launched by artificial means,² and used to brandish his toy, calling himself Jupiter and giving oracles from an elevated throne.³ He was also saluted as Jupiter Latiaris.⁴ His downfall was predicted by various prodigies. A statue of Jupiter at Olympia, which he had meant to convey to Rome, burst into a sudden laugh and scared away the workmen: whereupon a certain Cassius came up and declared that he had been warned by a dream to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter. Caligula himself, the night before Cassius Chaerea stabbed him, "dreamed that he stood in heaven before the throne of Jupiter, and that, kicked by the toe of his right foot, he was hurled down to earth."⁵ Almost the last word he spoke was when one of the conspirators asked him for his watchword and he replied "*Jupiter*."⁶

Other emperors may be dismissed more shortly. A cameo in the Marlborough cabinet shows Claudius as Jupiter with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle all complete.⁷ L. Junius Silanus was done to death, if we may believe Seneca,⁸ simply because he dubbed his sister Juno, and so presumably might be regarded as a rival of the emperor. Coins of Vespasian and Titus represent a throne with a thunderbolt upon it and so hint at the same pretensions.⁹

¹ Suet. *Calig.* 22.

² Beurlier *op. cit.* p. 37.

³ Dio. 59. 26.

⁴ Suet. *Calig.* 22.

⁵ *Ib.* 57.

⁶ *Ib.* 58.

⁷ A. Furtwängler *Die antiken Gemmen* ii. 302, pl. 65, 48.

⁸ Sen. *apocoloc.* 8. 2. Possibly Junius Silanus recalled the origin of his own name: *supra* p. 303.

⁹ Stevenson *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 400.

Domitian was constantly called *Jupiter* by the poets of the day,¹ sometimes by way of variation *Tonans* or "the Thunderer."² On one of his first-brasses we see Jupiter Custos seated with a thunderbolt and a spear; on another, Domitian himself holding the thunderbolt in his right hand, the spear in his left, while he is crowned by Victory from behind.³ A dedication to Hadrian as *Iovi Olympio* is extant.⁴ It was found at Parium in Mysia, and should be compared with various Greek inscriptions, which give him the titles *Zeus* and *Olympios* probably because in the year 128/129 A.D. he completed the magnificent temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens.⁵ A silver medallion of the Roman province Asia, struck about the same time, shows him standing in his character of Zeus with reversed spear, shield and eagle.⁶ Oppian⁷ speaks of Septimius Severus as "the Ausonian Zeus." A bronze coin of Claudius Gothicus, who in 269 A.D. routed an immense horde of Goths, represents the emperor as Jupiter holding a thunderbolt and a reversed spear with the inscription *Iovi Victori*.⁸ Another bronze coin struck at Heraclea in Thrace is inscribed *Iovi Conservatori*, and shows either Jupiter, or more probably Licinius as Jupiter, receiving a wreath from a small figure of Victory on an orb which he holds in his right hand, while his left hand has a sceptre, and on either side of him are placed an eagle with a wreath in its beak and a captive in bonds.⁹ But of all these later emperors he who made the most successful

¹ Stat. *silv.* 1. 6. 27, Mart. *epigr.* 9. 28, 10. 9. 86, 8. 14. 1. 2, cp. Dionys. *per.* 210 οὐτ' Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοιρας ἀπώλεσεν Διόσσοις αἰχμή.

² Mart. *epigr.* 6. 10. 9 with Friedländer's n.

³ Stevenson *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 400.

⁴ Dessau 320.

⁵ P. von Rohden in Pauly-Wissowa i. 500, 509.

⁶ Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Antike Denkmäler* Zeus p. 98, pl. 9, 28.

⁷ Opp. *cyn.* 3.

⁸ Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *op. cit.* Zeus p. 97, pl. 9, 25.

⁹ *Id. ib.* Zeus p. 94, pl. 9, 17.

bid for the honours of Jupiter was Diocletian. He adopted the name *Iovius*, which, to judge from contemporary literature and inscriptions, was popularly applied to him as the representative of Jove.¹ "He specially adored this divinity," says Duruy,² "whose name was the beginning of his own [sc. *Dio-cletianus*]; he placed the figure of Jupiter upon his coins; . . . he built him a temple in the palace of Salona, and made it his study to appear in public ceremonies with the calm majesty of the father of gods and men."

I need not cite further details. It must be already clear that from Julius Caesar onwards the emperors of Rome were constantly treated as Jupiter incarnate. One noticeable symbol of their godhead was the oak-wreath. Coins of the gens Julia³ show the head of Pietas crowned with oak; and Pietas was equivalent to Julius Caesar, as we see from a gold coin of the same gens, which portrays a veiled head of Pietas with the features of Caesar.⁴ Over the door of Augustus and his successors an oak-wreath was regularly suspended by decree of the Senate.⁵ And the general impression produced on the public by the sight of the emperor's palace may be gathered from Ovid's⁶ couplet:

*"This is the house of Jupiter," quoth I,
Taking my cue from yonder wreath of oak.*

There was, then, much excuse for pagan Euhemerists like Ennius⁷ and for Christian apologists like Tertullian,⁸ who, viewing such practices from the vantage-ground of

¹ Aur. Vict. *de Caesar.* 39. 18, Mamertin. *paneg. in Maximian.* 13. 3, Eumen. *pro restaur. schol.* 10. 2, Claud. *de bell. Gild.* 418 f., Lact. *de mort. persecut.* 52; Dessau 621, 634, 658 f., 661, 665. See further Duruy *History of Rome* vi. 539, where a bronze medallion inscribed *Iovio Diocletiano Aug.* is figured.

² V. Duruy *loc. cit.*

³ Babelon *Monn. de la Rép. rom.* ii. 17.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 16.

⁵ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 372.

⁶ *Ov. trist.* 3. 1. 35 f.

⁷ Bährens *Frag. poet. Rom.* p. 126 ff.

⁸ Tert. *apol.* 10 etiam Iovem ostendimus tam hominem quam ex homine.

philosophy or religion, concluded that Jupiter was *tam hominem quam ex homine*, "a man and the son of a man."

Now the early Greek king, in his office as human Zeus, controlled the sun, the rain, and the crops. The same is true of his Italian counterpart. Every year on the 21st of April the Romans celebrated the festival of the Parilia,¹ at which they leaped over bonfires probably as a charm to procure sunshine.² The day was regarded as the birthday of Rome itself, and it was said that Romulus had offered the original sacrifice and arranged the details of the ritual.³ Mr. Warde Fowler⁴ infers that the sacrificing priest at the urban Parilia was the *rex sacrorum*, a religious representative of the old Roman king. Certainly it was he who on the kalends of each month, as soon as the new moon was observed in the sky, offered a sacrifice to Juno and summoned the people to the Curia Calabra adjoining the hut of Romulus on the Capitol in order to announce to them when the nones would fall due.⁵ He thus appears to have furnished the people with both sunshine and moonshine. The ruins of his house, the Regia, show in the centre of the main apartment a circular base of grey tufa,⁶ which may have been the royal hearth. And close to the Regia stood the temple of Vesta, where the Vestal virgins watched their undying flame. The perpetual fire thus maintained under the eye of the king was, if I am right,⁷ simply a means of keeping up the sun's heat by mimetic magic. The human Jupiter was responsible for the sunlight. When Romulus vanished, the sun was

¹ W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* p. 79 ff.

² W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte* p. 517.

³ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 88.

⁴ W. Warde Fowler *op. cit.* p. 83, n. 1.

⁵ Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 15. 9 ff.

⁶ E. Burton-Brown *Recent Excav. in the Roman Forum* p. 53 with pls. facing pp. 53 and 56, Ch. Hülsen *Das Forum Romanum* p. 154, fig. 76.

⁷ See *Folk-Lore* xv. 308 ff., *Class. Rev.* xviii. 366.

darkened;¹ and, among the portents that accompanied the death of Julius Caesar, Plutarch² mentions "the dimness of the sun, whose orb rose pale and dull throughout the whole of that year and sent down but a weak and feeble heat." The rayed crown worn by Augustus and Claudius after death, by Nero and his successors during their lifetime, was the visible emblem of the sun-god, and was certainly borrowed from representations of that deity.³ Before the birth of Augustus his father Octavius dreamt that a sunbeam issued from the womb of his mother Atia. At a later date he dreamt again that he saw his son in a laurelled chariot drawn by twelve white horses: he was of superhuman size and adorned with a rayed crown, a thunderbolt, a sceptre, and the garments of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. One night the infant Augustus vanished, and next day was found on the top of a high tower over against the sunrise.⁴ Commodus too aped the sun-god. "His hair," says Herodian,⁵ "was by nature yellow and curly, so that whenever he walked in the sunlight there flashed from it a gleam as of fire, and some supposed that he was powdered with gold dust on his way, while others regarded him as a god, affirming that a heavenly light shone about his head." A small bronze coin of Carus shows face to face the radiate head of the emperor and the radiate head of the sun-god.⁶ This conception of the emperor as a solar power may account for the fact that the Antonines and their successors used to have perpetual fire carried in front of them wherever they went.⁷

¹ Cic. *de rep.* i. 25, Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 56, Plut. *vit. Cam.* 33, *de fort. Rom.* 8, *alib.*

² Plut. *vit. Caes.* 69, cp. Verg. *georg.* i. 466 ff., Tib. 2. 5. 75 f., Ov. *met.* 15. 785 f.

³ Beurlier *Le culte rendu aux empereurs romains* p. 48 ff.

⁴ Suet. *vit. Aug.* 94. ⁵ Herod. 1. 18. ⁶ Duruy *Hist. of Rome* vi. 525.

⁷ Beurlier *op. cit.* p. 50 f., Preller-Jordan *Röm. Myth.* ii. 441 f.

The early Italian king was also a rain-maker. Alladius made his mock-thunderstorms till he was destroyed by a real one.¹ Aeneas, according to one authority,² disappeared in a thunderstorm, as did Romulus after him.³ Numa learnt from Jupiter Elicius how to control thunderstorms: Tullus Hostilius, who had imperfectly mastered Numa's formulae, attempted to do the same, but was thunderstruck himself by Jupiter.⁴ The pretensions of later Romans to wield the thunderbolt we have already considered.

The king, who provided the weather, was presumably responsible for the crops. His palace, the Regia, contained a shrine of Ops,⁵ an ancient goddess of fertility; and modern excavations have brought to light a large *silo* or corn-pit in the king's courtyard.⁶ Possibly the corn-distributions of which we hear so much in republican and imperial times had their origin in a long-standing right of the people to be fed by their king.

In Italy, as in Greece,⁷ the judicial and military duties of the king were closely bound up with his position as representative of the sky-god. The king, like Jupiter, was allowed to ride in a chariot within the walls of Rome; and from the chariot he appears to have pronounced his judgments. A *denarius* of the gens Vettia shows a man holding a sceptre, who stands in a two-horse chariot: he is inscribed IVDEX, the "judge," and behind him is placed a large ear of corn. Cavedoni and Mommsen took this personage to be king Numa engaged in distributing corn-fields: Babelon sees in him Sp. Vettius, who was *interrex* or temporary king after the death of Romulus.⁸ In any case it is probable that he delivered his verdicts from a chariot as the vice-gerent of Jupiter. The *sella curulis*

¹ *Supra* p. 288.

² [Aen. Vict.] *orig. gent. Rom.* 14. 2.

³ Liv. 1. 16. 1, *alib.*

⁴ *Supra* p. 269.

⁵ Varro *de ling. Lat.* 6. 21, cp. Fest. p. 214 Lind.

⁶ E. Burton-Brown, *op. cit.* p. 57 f.

⁷ *Folk-Lore* xv. 370 ff.

⁸ Babelon, *Monn. de la répub. rom.* ii. 531 f.

or "chariot seat," on which Roman magistrates of a later date sat as judges, was a survival of this primitive usage.¹

No real distinction can be drawn between the king's sceptre and the standard of the legion: each was a staff surmounted by an eagle²; and the standard was worshipped by the soldiery³ because, like the sceptre,⁴ it symbolised Jupiter—a fact that the ancients had not forgotten.⁵ Lest its connection with the oak of the sky-god⁶ should be obscured, they sometimes placed an oak-leaf in the eagle's beak,⁷ or a golden thunderbolt in its talons.⁸ The thunderbolt on the shields of the legionaries and on the lead bullets of the slingers⁹ was likewise a token that the whole fighting force was under the command and protection of Jupiter. The king or general, if successful in battle, erected on the spot a trophy, *i.e.* an

¹ Cp. Gell. 3. 18. 3 f., Paul. *exc. Fest. s.v.* "currules" p. 38 Lind., Isid. *origg.* 20. 11. 11.

² Such was the sceptre of Romulus (Lyd. *de mag.* 1. 7) and the last three kings of Rome (Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 3. 61 f.). For the form of the legionary eagles see Smith-Wayte-Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 674 f.

³ The eagle was kept in a portable shrine (Dio 40. 18, cp. Cic. *Cat.* 1. 24), where it received actual worship (Herod. 4. 4. 5, Plin. *nat. hist.* 13. 23), being regarded as the god of the legion (Liv. 26. 48. 12, Tac. *ann.* 1. 39. 7, 2. 17. 2, *hist.* 3. 10. 7, Val. Max. 6. 1. 11, Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 6. 45, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. 7591).

⁴ *Supra* p. 302.

⁵ Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11, Isid. *origg.* 18. 3. 2.

⁶ See *Folk-Lore* xv. 371 f.

⁷ Smith-Wayte-Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 675.

⁸ Dio 43. 35, Jul. *Obseq.* 126; cp. the relief at Verona figured by A. von Domaszewski *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere*, 1885 fig. 4.

A remarkable analogy to the early Roman eagle is afforded by the later *labarum*, *i.e.* the military standard adorned with the Constantinian monogram. There can be little doubt that this monogram was an adaptation of an older solar symbol, and that it was as acceptable to the Mithraic worshippers as to the Christians (W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* p. 238 ff.). It is at least possible that the much-disputed word *labarum* should be connected with *λᾶβρα*, the "double-axe," which symbolised the sky-god in the Aegean area from a very remote past (E. Conybeare *Roman Britain* p. 228 n. 2).

⁹ Pauly-Wissowa ii. 317.

oak-trunk covered with votive armour,¹ and on his return to Rome triumphed in the character of the oak-Jupiter.²

A difficulty here occurs. For the trophy, which the Greeks describe as "an image of Zeus,"³ was by the Romans connected with Mars rather than with Jupiter;⁴ and the sacred spear kept in the Regia was deemed "an image of Mars" and addressed as "Mars."⁵ This difficulty, however, is only apparent. I have elsewhere⁶ maintained that Mars was but a specialised form of Jupiter. His name *Mars* or *Ma-vors* means, according to Corssen, Bezzenberger, and Solmsen,⁷ the "Battle-turner," so that he would correspond in function to the Greek Zeus *Tropaïos*⁸ or the Oscan Jupiter *Versor*.⁹ As Jupiter *Stator* was the god who "stayed" the Romans from flight,¹⁰ so Jupiter *Mavors* may have been the god who "routed" their foes. The evolution of *Mavors* as a separate deity can be precisely paralleled by that of *Ares*, a Thracian development of Zeus *Areios*.¹¹ Some of the most important cult-titles of Mars were born by Jupiter also. Thus throughout the Celtic area Mars is surnamed *Loucetius* or *Leucetius*;¹² and we have already seen that *Loucetius* or *Lucetius* was an ancient Italian synonym of Jupiter.¹³ Again, Mars was identified with *Quirinus*,¹⁴ the "oak"-god; and Jupiter himself was sometimes called

¹ Verg. *Aen.* 11. 5 ff.

² *Supra* p. 307.

³ *Folk-Lore* xv. 373 n. 25.

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 11. 5 ff., Claud. in *Rufin.* 1. 339, cp. Babelon *Monn. de la rép. rom.* i. 509, ii. 512.

⁵ Varro ap. Clem. Alex. *protr.* 4. 46, Arnob. 6. 11, Plut. *vit. Rom.* 29, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 8. 3.

⁶ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 372 f. and 375.

⁷ See Solmsen *Stud. z. lat. Lautgesch.* p. 77 f.

⁸ Preller-Robert p. 140.

⁹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 642.

¹⁰ *Ib.* 682 ff.

¹¹ See Preller-Robert pp. 140 f., 335, P. Gardner in *Num. Chron.* xx. 50.

¹² Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1982 f.

¹³ *Supra* p. 261 f.

¹⁴ According to Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 292, 6. 860, Myth. Vat. 3. 11. 10, Quirinus was strictly the peaceful form of Mars.

Quirinus,¹ as Janus had been before him.² The title *pater* also was common to Mars³ with Jupiter. The woodpecker, associated with Zeus on Greek soil⁴ and with Jupiter in Italy,⁵ was more commonly regarded as the bird of Mars.⁶

These are among the reasons which have led me to suppose that Jupiter, Mars and *Quirinus*, the great triad of gods standing at the head of Roman religion and served by the "major priests" (*flamines maiores*), were but differentiated forms of one and the same deity—the sky-god who was at once the "Bright-father," the "Battle-turner," and the "Oak"-god. When the *Salii* are described as being "under the protection of Jupiter Mars *Quirinus*";⁷ when Decius devotes himself to death with a solemn prayer commencing "Janus, Jupiter, Mars *pater*, *Quirinus*"⁸; when Numa ordains that the first *spolia opima* should be presented to Jupiter Feretrius, the second to Mars, the third to *Quirinus*,⁹—we seem to witness successive stages in the evolution of this divine triad.

The king who personated the warlike oak-Jupiter must needs be a great warrior. Some of the ancients, who saw a little way but not very far into their own past, held that Romulus was called *Quirinus* because he had been presented with a *quiris* or oaken spear on account of his valour in war.¹⁰ The custom of thus rewarding martial prowess deserves more attention than it has received. It was, I believe, no mere decoration like those of modern times, but rather the bestowing of the sceptre in which the godhead was believed to reside: the man who so

¹ *Supra* p. 281 n. 9.

² *Ib.* n. 8.

³ Preller-Jordan, i. 335.

⁴ *Folk-Lore* xv. 387 n. 88, *Class. Rev.* xvii. 412, xviii. 80 f., 83 f.

⁵ In the myth of Picus and Jupiter Elicius (*Class. Rev.* xvii. 270).

⁶ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 375.

⁷ *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 8. 663.

⁸ *Liv.* 8. 9. 6.

⁹ *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 6. 860, *Plut. vit. Marcell.* 8.

¹⁰ *Plut. vit. Rom.* 29.

distinguished himself in battle as to earn the oaken spear thereby became king and kept his spear in the Regia as representative of the war-god. In favour of this surmise is the fact that the spear awarded for valour was called *hasta pura* and had no head to it. As represented on coins of the gens Arria it draws from M. Beurlier¹ the exclamation: "It is more like a sceptre than a weapon." Virgil with equal art and lore makes Silvius, the "wood-land" king, son of Ascanius Iulus, the "oak-Jupiter," lean on a headless spear.²

Now in dealing with the Greeks I took occasion to illustrate Dr. Frazer's thesis that the divine king must be put to death as soon as his physical strength decays.³ The best Italian example is of course that upon which Dr. Frazer himself has laid stress, the case of the king of Nemi, who reigned as a strong man armed till a stronger than he came and slew him. But it may not be amiss to point out that there are other traces of the same custom to be detected here and there in Latin literature. In the *Casina* of Plautus Olympio,⁴ a country slave, thus accosts his master, Lysidamus:

- Ol.* Your love-intrigue means hate galore for me.
Your wife's my foe, your son's my foe, your friends
Are all my foes.
- Lys.* What difference does that make?
So long as you've one Jupiter here to help you,
Just snap your fingers at the smaller gods.
- Ol.* No, no, that's talk, mere talk. Why, don't you know
That human Jupiters suffer sudden death?
And, pray, if you my Jupiter should die,
And so your kingdom pass to the lesser gods,
Who'll help my back then or my head or legs?

The country slave here treats it as a matter of common knowledge "that human Jupiters come suddenly to a bad end" (*repente ut emoriantur humani Ioves*) and leave their

¹ Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 41.

² *Folk-Lore* xv. 376 ff.

³ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 760.

⁴ Plaut. *Cas.* 328 ff.

"kingdom" (*regnum*) to others. The passage gains immensely in point if, as I cannot but think probable, it refers to the slave who reigned as human Jupiter at Nemi or to others of his class. What the bad end was to which they came, we do not exactly know; but we should gather from analogy that they were beheaded and their heads hanged on the sacred oak.¹ The decapitation of a would-be immortal was a subject not unsuited to ancient satire; and we have it on the authority of Tertullian that "Varro, the Roman Cynic, introduces scores of Joves or Jupiters minus their heads" and that Roman audiences laughed aloud when in the course of a mime "the last will and testament of a defunct Jupiter was read."² Varro's notion of a Jupiter minus his head may serve to explain a somewhat difficult passage in Seneca's brilliant satire *The Pumpkinification of the divine Claudius*.³ The scene is laid in heaven, and the gods are debating what sort of divinity shall be conferred upon Claudius, who has just issued a public order for the beheading of Febris, and demanded apotheosis for himself. One of them, apparently Jupiter, says: "He can't be the Epicurean god who 'troubleth no man and is himself untroubled of any.' The Stoic god, then? But how can he be 'rotund,' as Varro puts it, 'minus his head, minus his tail'?" Ah, I see,

¹ See *Class. Rev.* xvii. 269 ff. The heads of unsuccessful combatants were hanged on the oak of king Phorbas (Philostr. *imagg.* 2. 19. 2) and decorated the palaces of king Sitho (Nonn. *Dion.* 48. 224 f.) and king Oenomaus (Apollod. *epit.* 2. 5, Philostr. *jun. imagg.* 9. 3), both of whom were probably oak-kings. On Italian soil we have the myth of the "heads and a man" demanded from the Pelasgians by the oak-Zeus of Dodona (Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 19), and of the "heads" required from king Numa in the oak-wood by Jupiter Elicius (Plut. *vit. Num.* 15, cp. *Class. Rev.* xvii. 270, xviii. 369). The practice of hanging human faces (*oscilla*) on sacred trees points in the same direction. A Lucanian vase shows one suspended from a tree, beneath which two men with swords are engaged in a mortal combat (S. Reinach *Rép. des vases peints* i. 486).

² Tert. *apol.* 14, 15.

³ Sen. *apocoloc.* 8. 1 f. I follow the latest text, that of Bücheler ed. 4. 1904.

there is something of the Stoic god about him: he has neither a heart nor a head. Assuredly, if he had craved this boon (of divinity) from Saturn, whose festive month he kept going the whole year round, our Saturnalian prince, he wouldn't have got it; and he certainly shall not from Jupiter, whom to the best of his ability he condemned on a charge of incest." Now Dr. Frazer has shown that originally the king of the Saturnalia, after personating Saturn for a month, was put to death in this capacity, and that the Christian soldier Dasius, who refused to play the part of the heathen god, was actually beheaded at Durosotolum as late as 303 A.D.¹ The foregoing extract from Seneca not only contains a manifest allusion (the one in Latin literature) to the slaying of the Saturnalian king, but also describes the enfeebled Claudius' pretensions to be Jupiter² with a sly reference to Varro's "Jupiters minus their heads," and so raises a presumption that the human Jupiter was normally beheaded in his dotage.

Doubtless there were other methods of superannuating the effete king. Livy,³ after giving the usual tradition that Romulus disappeared in a thunderstorm, mentions the "very obscure tale" that he was torn to pieces by the hands of the fathers. Plutarch⁴ too, though persuaded that Romulus was caught up to heaven, records the belief that the senators had fallen upon him in the temple of Vulcan and divided his body between them, every man carrying away a portion of it in his robe. Dionysius⁵ says much the same, though he makes the senate-house the scene of the murder, and adds that those who carried away the king's flesh in their garments buried every man his fragment in the earth. This singular variant recalls

¹ Frazer *Golden Bough* ² iii. 140 ff.

³ Liv. i. 16. 4.

⁵ Dionys. ant. Rom. 2. 56.

² *Supra* p. 313.

⁴ Plut. vit. Rom. 27.

the myth of Pelops, who according to Pindar¹ was caught up to heaven, but according to the common version was cut to pieces and boiled as food for the gods. In such cases it is, of course, the crude and ugly tale that is the better founded; and I sadly fear that the story of Romulus being rapt away in a thunderstorm was a pious fiction designed to conceal a far more horrible fate. Two other early kings, Aeneas and Latinus, vanished in like manner; and it is highly significant that each of them was identified after his death with Jupiter.² In the case of Aeneas, side by side with the euphemistic statement that he had been translated heavenwards in a thunderstorm, there was a substantial tradition that he had been drowned in the river Numicius, on whose banks he was offering a sacrifice.³ Very possibly the sacrifice in question was the sacrifice of himself. Again, Titus Tatius was said to have gone with Romulus to Lavinium, in order to attend a certain sacrifice incumbent upon the kings, and there to have been set upon by the comrades and relatives of some murdered Laviniate envoys and slain by them "upon the altar with the sacrificial knives and spits."⁴

It would seem, then, that the Italians, no less than the Greeks, safeguarded the physical competence of their

¹ Pind. *Ol.* 1. 38 ff. Pelias too was cut to pieces and boiled by his daughters, who had been told by Medea that *they might thus restore to their father his youthful vigour* (Roscher *Lex.* iii. 1848 ff.)—a circumstance which throws a flood of light on the motive of all these ritual murders and well accords with the theory propounded by Dr. Frazer (*Golden Bough* ii. 5 f.).

² *Supra* p. 286.

³ Tib. 2. 5. 43 f., Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 259, 4. 620, 7. 150, Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 64. [Aur. Vict.] *orig. gent. Rom.* 14. 3 f. adds that he was afterwards seen in full armour on the river-bank and therefore believed to have become immortal.

⁴ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 52. Dr. Frazer kindly drew my attention to this passage; and further suggests that the death of Metius Fuffetius, the dictator of Alba, who at the bidding of Tullus Hostilius was torn asunder by a couple of two-horse chariots (*ib.* 3. 30), bears some resemblance to the death of Hippolytus-Virbius, who was "*furiis direptus equorum*" (*Ov. fast.* 3. 265).

human Jupiters by putting them to death on the approach of old age. This custom furnishes a clue to the curious ritual of the *argei* at Rome.¹ On May 15 every year bundles of rushes resembling men bound hand and foot were taken down to the old Sublician Bridge by the pontiffs and praetors, and were thence cast into the river by the Vestal virgins. Tradition explained the rite by saying that old men, sixty years of age, used to be flung from the bridge as a sacrifice—witness the proverb *sexagenarios de ponte*—though authorities differed as to the god thereby propitiated: some thought Saturn,² some Dis Pater.³ Now one of the most remarkable features of the occasion is that the *flaminica Dialis*, or priestess of Jupiter, who usually wore bridal attire, had to be present with dishevelled hair and signs of mourning.⁴ But, as Mr. Warde Fowler points out, no mention is made of the *flamen*, her husband—a significant omission! I conclude that the *sexagenarius* originally thrown from the bridge⁵ was the superannuated *flamen Dialis*, who during the years of his vigour and maturity had been a worthy representative of Jupiter, but on reaching the age of sixty must be done to death lest by his bodily decline he should imperil the divine potency resident in him. Like Aeneas he must be drowned in the river before reaching senility.⁶ Indeed, it is not improbable that the office of *flamen Dialis* was instituted precisely in order that the said *flamen* might take upon himself the numerous taboos and unpleasant restrictions⁷ (death by drowning

¹ See Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 111 ff.

² *Ov. fast.* 5. 627, though he ascribes the institution of the rite to "oracular Jupiter" (*ib.* 626); *Dionys. ant. Rom.* 1. 38.

³ *Fest. s.v.* "sexagenarios" p. 259 Lind.

⁴ *Gell.* 10. 15, *Plut. quaest. Rom.* 86.

⁵ *Manilius ap. Fest. loc. cit.* speaks of one, *Ovid loc. cit.* of two, *Dionysius loc. cit.* of thirty.

⁶ See further *Class. Rev.* xvii. 269 n. 2. ⁷ *Frazer Golden Bough* ² i. 241 f.

included), which would otherwise have fallen to the king as Jupiter incarnate. It is to be noted that Romulus and Titus Tatius are the only Roman kings of whose sacrificial death there is any evidence; and that the first appointment of a *flamen Dialis* is commonly ascribed to their immediate successor Numa, who provided that he should wear magnificent apparel and sit on the royal seat.¹ He was thus an obvious substitute for the king himself, and at a banquet none save the *rex sacrorum*, or priestly king, might take precedence of him.²

Romulus and Titus Tatius stand for the old régime which was mitigated and modified by degrees.³ At first the king seems to have been liable to an attack at any moment: the king at Nemi, for example, went about with a drawn sword in his hand and the thought of death always before him. Next, such murderous assaults were limited to one day in the year. It is probable that the Roman king ruled as it were on sufferance from year to year, and that once in the twelvemonth he had to prove his powers undiminished by defending himself or being prepared to defend himself against a personal assailant. This can be inferred with much likelihood from a later usage. Once a year the Vestal virgins came to the *rex sacrorum* and addressed him in words of solemn significance: "Art thou watching, king? Watch!"⁴ Lastly, the fitness of the king to reign was yet more carefully ensured, when his tenure of office was reduced to a single year⁵ and his person duplicated by the creation of a second consul. If in times of emergency the consuls were superseded and the

¹ Liv. i. 20. 2, Dionys. ant. Rom. 2. 64.

² Gell. 10. 15. 21, Fest. s.v. "ordo" p. 189 Lind.

³ Cp. Folk-Lore xv. 392 ff.

⁴ Serv. in. Verg. Aen. 10. 228.

⁵ The annual expulsion of Mamurius Veturius, the "Old Mars," who on the day before the Ides of March was clad in skins, beaten with rods, and turned out of Rome (Frazer *Golden Bough* ² iii. 122 f.), will—if I am right in regarding Mars as a form of Jupiter (*supra* p. 320 f.)—be a case in point.

monarchy restored to the hands of a dictator,¹ that magistrate was still further limited to a rule of six months only.²

The principle on which one Roman king succeeded to another has long been a moot question. "The election," says Mr. A. H. Greenidge,³ "was regarded as free in a far wider sense than the election of the higher magistrates at Rome; since, if we are to trust the traditional accounts, Roman citizenship was not a necessary qualification for the monarchy. Thus the non-burgess Numa, the foreigner Tarquin, the slave's son Servius, are all represented as having been elected kings of Rome." There is, indeed, only one principle wide enough to cover these very diverse claimants, *viz.* that of physical superiority. And it was precisely on that principle that king succeeded to king at Nemi: as Ovid puts it—

*regna tenent fortes manibus pedibusque fugaces.*⁴

The strong of hand, the fleet of foot there reign.

Can the same custom be traced at Rome? On July 5 every year the Romans celebrated the old and obscure festival called the *Poplifugia*. It must have been at one time a festival of great importance, since, as Mr. Warde Fowler⁵ points out, no other festival falling before the Nones of the month is marked in large capitals on the Roman calendars. Two stories were told to account for the name. One of these connected it with the flight of the Roman army from the men of Fidenae after the retirement of the Gauls from Rome; but this Mr. Fowler at once dismisses on the ground that the *Poplifugia* must have been far older than 390 B.C. There remains the other explanation, which interprets the festival as a memorial of the flight of the people after the disappearance of

¹ The first dictator, according to Mommsen, was Manius Valerius (Liv. 2. 18. 6), who bore a doubly well-omened name (*supra* pp. 293, 303).

² Smith-Wayte-Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 632.

³ *Ib.* ii. 551.

⁵ Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 174. ✓

⁴ *Ov. fast.* 3. 271.

Romulus.¹ Romulus disappeared, according to tradition,² on July 7; but this is not an insuperable barrier to connecting the *Poplifugia* with his death, since festivals separated by an interval of one day are often related to each other.³ Indeed, Macrobius and Plutarch⁴ identify the *Poplifugia* with July 7. That the rites of the two days were not unconnected appears also from the fact that July 5 was a festival of Jupiter, July 7 a festival of Juno. Note too that the former festival was associated with the fate of Romulus at the *Caprae palus* in the Campus Martius,⁵ while the latter festival included a sacrifice to Juno *Caprotina* at the same *Caprae palus*.⁶ With regard to the rites themselves, we are told by Varro that on July 5 there were "certain traces of a flight" (*aliquot vestigia fugae*); and, if we may venture with Merkel to identify the *Poplifugia* with the *Fugalia*, it was a time of much license.⁷ That certainly was the character of July 7, when the handmaids of Rome wore their mistresses' robes, jibed at the passers-by, had a free fight among themselves with fisticuffs and stones, and sat down to a banquet under the boughs of a fig-tree, while the mob in general thronged forth from the city-gates with shouts of "Gaius," "Marcus," "Lucius," etc. Some took all this to be a mimic flight or rout; others, a sign of energy and haste.⁸ On the whole, it seems probable that the proceedings of both days were a survival of the primitive mode of electing the Roman king. The people had a foot-race (*Poplifugia*) to determine who was

¹ Plut. *vit. Rom.* 29, Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 56.

² Cic. *de rep.* 1. 16, Plut. *vit. Rom.* 27.

³ Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 174 quoting Mommsen in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i. (Fasti) 321 (on July 7).

⁴ Macrobi. *Sat.* 3. 2. 14, Plut. *vit. Rom.* 29, *vit. Cam.* 33.

⁵ Plut. *vit. Rom.* 27.

⁶ Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 18, Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 11. 36, Plut. *vit. Rom.* 29.

⁷ Aug. *de civ. Dei* 2. 6.

⁸ Plut. *vit. Rom.* 29, *vit. Cam.* 33.

most competent from a physical point of view, and subsequently made their choice by acclamation, greeting this or that favourite with cries of "Gaius," "Marcus," etc. The simultaneous strife of the women may have been to select a fitting partner for the king.

It is impossible to discuss the *Poplifugia* without also considering the *Regifugium*, another ancient festival celebrated yearly at Rome on February 24. It was popularly supposed to commemorate the expulsion of the Tarquins;¹ but a mutilated gloss in Festus rejects this explanation, and refers to "a sacrifice in [the Comitium] performed by [the king] and the Salii on [February] 24."² Plutarch³ further states: "There is a certain ancestral sacrifice in the Forum at the Comitium, as it is called, which the king offers, and having offered flees with all haste from the Forum." Plutarch, however, need not be alluding to the *Regifugium* of February 24; for there are two other days in the year, *viz.* March 24 and May 24, which in the stone calendars are marked Q.R.C.F. These letters probably denote, as Varro⁴ says, *quando rex comitiavit fas*, or 'business may be transacted when the king has been to the Comitium.' But Varro goes on to say that on such days the priestly king sacrificed at the Comitium. And a note appended to March 24 in the Praenestine calendar⁵ runs: "Most persons wrongly hold that this day is described as Q.R.C.F. because on it the king fled from the Comitium. But Tarquin did not depart from the Comitium, and the same rites take place in another month also." It is, then, highly probable that on February 24, and quite possible that on March 24 and May 24, the

¹ *Ov. fast.* 2. 685 ff., Paul. *exc. Fest.* p. 137 Lind.

² See Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 327 ff. ✓

³ *Plut. quaest. Rom.* 63.

⁴ *Varr. de ling. Lat.* 6. 31, adopting Hirschfeld's conjecture "litat ad comitium" for the meaningless "dicat ad comitium" of the MSS.

⁵ Orelli ii. 386 and 409 f.

rex sacrorum after performing a sacrifice in the Comitium had to make his escape at full speed. I incline to accept Dr. Frazer's¹ conjecture "that he was originally one of those divine kings who are either put to death after a fixed period or allowed to prove by the strong hand or the fleet foot that their divinity is vigorous and unimpaired."² If on the same day of February, March, and May he was expected to run his race, it is possible that in early times his probation was a monthly affair. The Etruscans, we know, were even more solicitous about the health of their king, who likewise personated the sky-god³; for, says Macrobius,⁴ "the Etruscans observed several Nones, inasmuch as every ninth day they used to bid their king all hail and to consult about their own business." The same principle perhaps underlies the Roman system of *Nones* and *Nundinae*. On the Nones, according to Varro,⁵ "the folk used to come into town from the country to their king"; and he adds that a trace of the gathering still exists in the *sacra Nonalia*, when the priestly king proclaims to the people on the Arx the chief festivals of the month. No doubt these gatherings of country-folk occasioned the regular *Nundinae* or market-days of Rome. But their origin was religious rather than secular: Granius Licinianus declared that all *Nundinae* were festivals of Jupiter, because on them the *flaminica* in the old Palace sacrificed a ram to that deity.⁶ Servius Tullius was said to have been born on the Nones; but, since the month was uncertain, all Nones alike were regarded as his birthday, and celebrated by

¹ Frazer *Golden Bough* ² ii. 67.

² [May not the flight of the king from the altar have been due to the need of escaping before the descent of the deity to partake of the sacrifice? The idea that it would be dangerous to see the face of a supernatural being is widely-spread, and in the case of a Lightning-god such a dread would be mere common-sense.—ED.]

³ *Class. Rev.* xviii. 361 f.

⁵ Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 28.

⁴ Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 15. 13.

⁶ Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 16. 30.

throngs of people.¹ After the kings had been driven out there was a danger lest these crowds should demand a fresh king on one of the Nones,² and consequently the *Nundinae* were severed from the *Nonae*.³ If the Nones were, as I suppose, a critical day for the king, we can understand not only the belief that all the Nones were birthdays of Servius Tullius, but also the tradition that Romulus vanished on the Nones, and perhaps even Augustus' superstitious avoidance of serious business on that day.⁴ In eight months of the year the Nones fell on the fifth day, according to Roman reckoning, from the Kalends; and we have seen that even in July, when the Nones fell on the seventh, the fifth was the *Poplifugia*, a red-letter day for the king. Moreover, the day after the Kalends, Nones, or Ides was called a "black day," and it was not lawful on it to utter the name of Janus or Jupiter,⁵ while the fifth day before every such "black day" was also avoided as a day of evil omen.⁶ It is just possible that the importance thus attached to the fifth day corresponds to a halving of the nine-day period. If so, the singular republican system of *interreges* or temporary kings, each of whom reigned for five days and then appointed his successor, on one occasion⁷ as many as fourteen being so nominated,—this system may have been a reversion to monarchy of the most jealously guarded kind.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

¹ Another account (Fest. s.v. "servorum dies" p. 262 Lind., Plut. *quæst. Rom.* 100) made Servius' birthday fall on the Ides of August, which was also known as the birthday of Diana (Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* p. 198).

² A point which favours my interpretation of the *Nonae Capretinae*: *supra* p. 329 f.

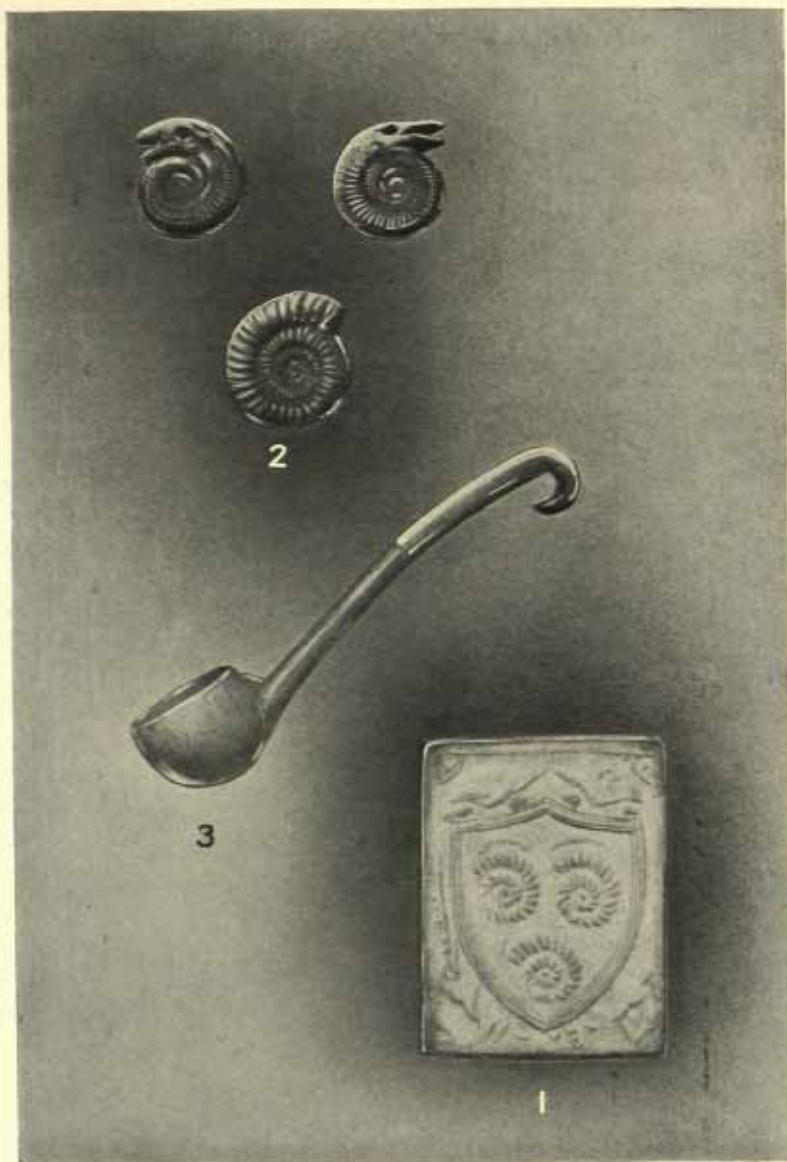
³ Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 13. 18.

⁴ Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 16. 25, Gell. 5. 17. 1 f.

⁵ Macrob. *ib.* 1. 16. 26, Gell. 5. 17. 3 ff.

⁶ Suet. *vit. Aug.* 92.

⁷ Liv. 8. 23. 17.



WHITBY AMMONITES AND CHARMER'S LADLE.

COLLECTANEA.

THE WHITBY SNAKE-AMMONITE MYTH.

(Read at Meeting, 19th April, 1905.)

ONE of the most interesting features in the study of superstition is the remarkable array of objects which are associated with magic by primitive folk nearly all over the world.

In this catalogue fossils occupy a prominent place, and it really seems only natural that such shapely forms and designs should appeal to the very ignorant as being something beyond their ken, and therefore of course "magical." Most of these were, and even still are, considered to have been "thunderbolts," as also were the arrowheads and polished celts of neolithic man. Later on, when some advance in civilisation brought about more knowledge, these fossils occupied a somewhat higher position in superstition, so that an ammonite, instead of being a thunderbolt, became, say, a "petrified snake." The segments of encrinite stems were St. Cuthbert's beads: echini = "shepherds' crowns"; nummulites = "fossil money"; and so on.

Among the most interesting of these superstitions is the snake-ammonite myth of Whitby. The geological formation there is the Lias, and in certain zones of this deposit large numbers of the fossil cephalopods, known as ammonites (of many species), occur. The old idea was that these were petrified snakes, turned into stone by the patron saint of Whitby, Saint Hilda. This delightful legend is referred to in Sir Walter Scott's

Marmion, Canto ii. 13; when "Whitby's nuns"

"told, how, in their convent cell,
A Saxon Princess once did dwell,
The lovely Edelfied;
And how of thousand snakes, each one
Was changed into a coil of stone,
When holy Hilda prayed;
Themselves within their holy bound,
Their stony folds had often found;
They told how seafowls' pinions fail
As over Whitby's towers they sail,
And, sinking down, with flutterings faint,
They do their homage to the saint."

So strong was the belief, that the town arms of Whitby—three ammonites on a shield—once represented these shells with snakes' heads. An old Whitby copper token of "Flower Gate," dated 1667, also shows them as coiled snakes with heads.

The fact that ammonites were never found with snakes' heads was, of course, always more or less of a stumbling-block, though the workmen and others frequently got over the difficulty by making and fixing heads to the ammonites on their own account. Plate XXV., Fig. 2, shows two specimens with these forged heads. The town arms of Whitby, upon a cake, are also shown in the plate (Fig. 1).

But the glory of the legend has departed. I have met many people even of late years who still believed in it, but if you ask a man or boy in Whitby now if he knows anything about the petrified snakes of Saint Hilda, the chances are that he will say, "It is all rot!"

EDWARD LOVETT.

VETERINARY LEECHCRAFT.

I. *Silver Water.*

(See p. 242.)

THE object figured on Plate XXV., Fig. 3, is a wooden ladle cut from the solid, and is about $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

It was brought to me by my friend Mr. MacKeggie, from

Beauly, N.B., where it had been hanging up in a farm-house kitchen for many years. About fifty years ago it was used in connection with curing cattle supposed to be suffering from having been "overlooked" by some one possessing an "evil eye."

First of all, water had to be fetched in a bucket made entirely of wood, from a brook or burn over which the living and the dead had crossed (this was a brook running under a road leading to the local church-yard). In this water silver had to be placed, and no doubt became a perquisite for the local "wise man"; (I believe a threepenny-piece usually did duty in this respect, as it frequently does now in church collections). Then the water was ladled out with the object shown in the figure, and sprinkled over the sick cow.

Whether it did any good I have not been able to ascertain, but I have no doubt that in many cases the cow recovered in due course, which would of course be at once attributed to the magical power of the local wizard who performed the ceremony.

In Ireland cows are still "cured," in the very rural districts, by administering water in which flint arrow-heads had been boiled. In this case, I understand that the cows have the water and the wizard who performs the cure, some whisky! This is a *sine qua non*.

EDWARD LOVETT.

II. Charm-Stones.

(See p. 242.)

THE two holed-stones exhibited are from the collection of Sir F. Tress Barry, and were dug out of *brochs*, popularly called "Picts' houses," in the neighbourhood of Keiss Castle, Caithness. They measure one and three-sixteenths and one and seven-sixteenths of an inch respectively in diameter. The smallest is from one-eighth to a quarter of an inch in thickness, whilst the larger and less perfect specimen has a thickness of three-eighths of an inch on one side, but on the opposite is chipped away to little more than one-sixteenth of an inch. The perforation of the first is a clean cut circle

not quite a quarter of an inch in diameter. The hole of the larger stone is rougher, and has a diameter of three-eighths of an inch. Sometimes these stones are found decorated with small patterns of scratched lines. They are, in fact, ancient spindle-whorls.

A few people in Caithness still attribute some superstitious power to these stones, and on the first night of the "quarter" they tie one of them between the horns of each of their cows and oxen, to frighten away the fairies and ill-luck. There is a tradition that the magic stones were made by seven vipers, who worked them into shape with their teeth, and that as they were finished the king of the vipers carried them off up on his tail!

When cattle sickened it used to be the custom in the old days—and, indeed, until quite recently—to call in a man with "charm stones" to conjure out the evil spirit. The grandfather of a middle-aged man now living in Caithness was celebrated for his wonderful cures, and declared that he had often seen the "fairy darts" sticking in the sick oxen when called in to doctor them. He had to be left quite alone when practising his magic arts, but one day a neighbour—being very curious to see what he did—hid in a stable where he had shut himself up, and saw him rub the sick animal with the charm-stones, while at intervals he turned the stones over in the basket he had brought them in, saying "Swate ye! Swate ye!" He then administered a "drink of silver" (a bucket of water with a piece of silver money in it), and the animal was cured. The "silver drink" is still believed to be very effective in many parts of Caithness, and certainly it is a simple remedy, not likely to do any mischief.

F. BARRY.

[In the Hebrides these stone whorls are known as adder-stones, cf. Dr. Arthur Mitchell, *The Past in the Present*, p. 7. Another such whorl is figured in the *Transactions of the Folk-Lore Congress* of 1891, p. 434. It was ploughed up near Pulverbatch, Shropshire, and locally known as a Fairies' Grindstone. For Silver-water see Dr. R. C. Maclagan, *The Evil Eye in the Western Highlands*, p. 151; cf. also J. Gregorson Campbell, *Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Scottish Highlands*, p. 84, and Henderson, *Folklore of the Northern Counties*, p. 165.—ED.]

III. *Sympathy.*

THE following extract from a private letter appears to me worthy of a place in *Folk-Lore*. The writer is manager of a large farm near Cambridge.

J. G. FRAZER.

"A cowman (a Suffolk man), lately said to me that the only cure for cows when there was an epidemic of abortion was to bury one of the premature calves in a gateway through which the herd passed daily.¹

"Another curious idea, prevalent among Cambridgeshire labourers, is that if a horse runs a nail or hook into its foot, as soon as the nail or hook is extracted, it is necessary to grease it with lard or oil, and put it away in some safe place, or the horse will not recover. A veterinary surgeon told me only last year that he was sent for to attend a horse that had ripped its side open on the hinge of a farm gatepost, and on arriving at the farm, nothing had been done to the horse, but a man was busy trying to pry the hinge out of the gatepost, so that it could be greased and put away, and thus ensure the recovery of the horse."

F. N. WEBB.

14th April, 1905.

A FISHER-STORY AND OTHER NOTES FROM SOUTH WALES.

Communicated through Mr. E. Sidney Hartland.

THE following is the only well-defined transformation-story which I have gathered in regard to fish and water. It was obtained near Carmarthen, but does not seem well-known. It was recited by my informant, a well-to-do farmer's son near Llanelly, with great clearness and, indeed, dramatic force, half in Welsh, half in English, and nearly in the following words:—

'Upon the Towy floated a fisher-lad. He was in the very dew of his youth. He sat in a coracle with his paddle stuck under his

¹ Cf. Gutch, *County Folklore (Yorkshire)*, p. 68.

left armpit, with his salmon rod and his "knocker," to kill his fish, all ready. Suddenly a great salmon leapt to his fly, and there was a long fight, in which at last he got the better, and the big fish was flapping in the coracle between his feet with the hook through its upper jaw on the left. He took his club and said, "Now, I will knock thee." When the fish reared itself against his leg, and spoke with a faint human voice, as it were the voice of a babe, and said, "No, do not knock me, be my *cariad* (lover), and I will be thine." "No," said he, trembling with amazement, "thou art a devil, and I will knock thee," raising his arm to strike. But before the blow could fall he found himself in the arms of a beautiful girl, but cold and wet, who knelt between his feet, but her face was against his and her eyes were asking him, and she said, "Be my *cariad*." "No," said he, "thou art a devil, I will knock thee." "Then I will drown thee," said she, bending him over with all her strength; so they capsized. Then the girl plunged him deep in the river and brought him up sputtering, for he could not swim. "Wilt thou be my *cariad*?" said she. "No," said he, "thou art a d——." "Then down you go *yn ngwaelod yr avon* (to the bottom of the river)," said she, and down they went. Up again she brought him, panting. "Wilt thou be my *cariad*?" said she. "No," he said, "by——." The word was drowned in his mouth. She forced him down again into the weeds at the bottom. Then she plucked him up again. "Now, wilt thou be my *cariad*?" The lad was almost drowned, and said "Yea." At that she was delighted, and wrung him in her arms, and swam with him with her feet to the shore. And the coracle went down the stream and the rod too, but that was held to her by the hook and line, for the hook was in her upper lip. So when he came to his strength he had with him a gel without a stitch of clothes on her. Oh, a beautiful gel as white as a salmon, trying to get a hook out of her lip. So he says, "Pity, I will get it out," but he could not pull it through. "I must cut thee," he said, and took out his little knife. "Yea," said she, "cut me," and he cut the hook out carefully and she did not wince, but kissed him suddenly on the mouth, so that her blood was upon his face. "Now thou has taken of my blood thou wilt love me for ever," she said, and at the word there came a violent love for

her which never left him during his whole life. He took her home and lived with her a long and lucky life, having many children, who all had a little scar, or what seemed like one, in their upper lips, to the left.'

But my informant said that if when the lad came up the second time he could have completed his oath with the name of the Almighty, she would have become *eog* (a salmon) again.¹

As to magical rites, I found some five years ago that there were such connected with Arthur's Stone (Gower), though denied by my informant. But she "did hear that gels went and walked round it to see their sweethearts—a long time ago—and if they didn't see him they took off their shawls and went on their hands and knees—nobody is so fulish now." This from a young girl at Port Eynon.

Again, at St. Nicholas, near Cardiff, a man told me that his mother took him to "Castle Corrig" (a cromlech near St. Nicholas, perhaps the biggest existing in Britain), when he 'had a decline' as a boy, and she spat upon the stone, rubbed her finger in the spittle and rubbed him on the forehead and chest. I met a man at Pentrevoelas, North Wales, when I was searching for a crossed stone between that and Festiniog. He told me where it was, and said when he was a boy his mother took him to it, and rubbing her finger on the cross made that sign on his forehead. I feel convinced there is a good deal of this sort of thing, but I cannot get it out, or else it exists among a residuum which feels such a gap to exist between student and peasant that freedom of speech becomes impossible. But I have felt the sort of thing to underlie many ordinary stories, from certain turns of expression.

Mrs. S. (mother of Mrs. T.), who is preparing a work relating to the county of Glamorgan, has a good Llanccarfan story of catching the ghost of a lady. The 'lady' used to appear and pinch a farm-lad at night. So he determined to catch her, and got the skin of a white-bellied horse, cutting it into thongs, of which he made a bag, and for the draw-strings of the bag he cut long thongs from hoof to hoof over the shoulders. This was good

[The above story is also given in a pamphlet by Mr. T. H. Thomas, entitled *Some Folklore of South Wales*. William Lewis, printer, 22 Duke Street, Cardiff. N.D., but issued 1904.—E. S. H.]

for catching ghosts. He placed it at the door of the room, but the ghost evaded the trap, and pinched him unmercifully. However she never more appeared to him, being afraid of the bag.

T. H. THOMAS.

45 The Walk, Cardiff.

ADDITIONS TO "THE GAMES OF ARGYLESHIRE."

(Continued from page 221.)

HOPPING GAMES.

(P. 134, after line 18.)

Hop and Bar the Door.

Is a sort of general "Hoppy." Opposing parties are formed, dens for each side are defined by a straight line drawn on either side of a neutral ground from seven to ten paces apart. The players from both sides hop on the debatable land, jostling each other, endeavouring to make their opponents drop their feet, or to drive them into the den of the conqueror. If one of the players lets his foot drop he has to sit down on the spot and remains there for the rest of the game; those driven into the conqueror's territory become members of the conqueror's party. The game goes on till all of one side have been put out of action in one of these manners.

Bonnety.

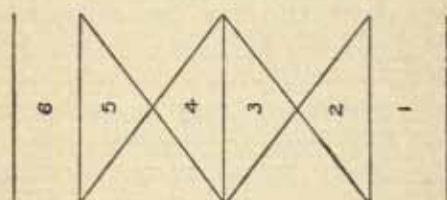
Is related to "Cutting the Cheese." All the players' bonnets are placed in a row on the ground, a small space being left between them. The leader hops on the same leg over each bonnet from one end of the row to the other and back again, landing in the space between the bonnets. He repeats this, but hopping over each in a zig-zag direction, all of course without touching a bonnet or dropping the other foot. He

then hops along the row, a little to one side of it and stooping down, lifts the bonnets in succession with his teeth, jerking them over his shoulder. If this were gone through without failure the player was game, but if unsuccessful in any way he had to rush for a pre-arranged den, the others pursuing him, 'clouting' him until he reached it with their hastily picked up bonnets.

In "French and Scotch," the boys playing fixed on a territory and standing opposite each other; one side tried to drive the other out of bounds, hopping and jostling each other, with their shoulders, or making individuals drop the other foot, thus causing them to stand aside for the rest of the game. A player might rest himself and again take part in the struggle if he had neither been driven out nor caused to drop his foot.

(P. 136, after line 13.)

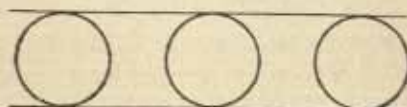
There are various forms of Peaver "Beds" used in different places. In Inverness the following diagram will make the usual arrangement clear.



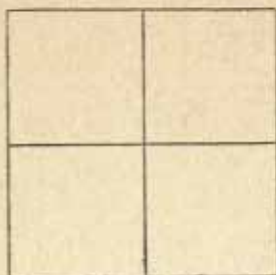
The names applied to beds as numbered are, Firstie, Secie Littlie, Farrie First, Farrie Sec, Mucklie.

Other Argyleshire forms of "Beds" than that given on p. 135 are—

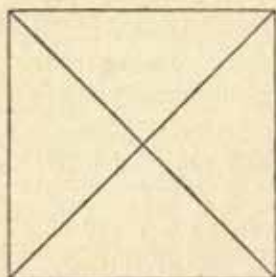
ROUND BEDS.



SQUARE BEDS.



CROSS BEDS.



In Ross-shire (Munlochy) the game of "Peaver" is called "Kettlie."

General Beds.

A girls' hopping-game. A number of parallel lines are drawn on a flat surface, one for each player, about a foot apart. The first player hops from space to space till she reaches the furthest, where she stoops and, still on one foot, marks within it with chalk the initials of her favourite general, *e.g.* F.R., G.W., etc., and then hops back to where she commenced. The same process is carried out by each player in succession till all the 'beds' are initialed. The first player then again hops through all the beds, forward and backward, taking care that her foot does not touch either the initials or the dividing line of any bed but her own, in the latter case she is permitted to touch

the initials she herself wrote. Those who follow her do not stop at their own beds, but do the whole line. Making a mistake puts a player out, the one doing it oftenest without mistake winning the game.

IMITATIVE GAMES.

(P. 140, after line 18.)

The words used in various districts generally show a common origin, but with variations pointing to inexact memory. Thus in "When I was a Lady," a sample of the Uist words is here given—

" When I had a baby, a baby, a baby,
When I had a baby, this way I would go,
See, O this way, that way, this way, that way,
See, O this way, that way, O then, O then, O then."

Our sample verses, in addition to that given, commence "When I was a lady"—"When I was a gentleman"—"When my husband died"—and "When I was a drunkard."

In Uist also the version sent us of "When I was a farmer" goes thus—

" Do you know how does the farmer, the farmer, the farmer,
Do you know how does the farmer, sow his barley and his wheat?
This, how does the farmer, the farmer, the farmer,
This, how does the farmer, sow his barley and his wheat."

The girls playing sing in unison, holding up the skirt of their dress and imitating with their right hand the sowing of seed.

The next verse is "Cut his barley and his wheat," and while singing it they imitate the use of the scythe.

(P. 141, after line 7.)

Imitating the actions of a leader without moving from the spot are the following, being games in which, if lads take part, it is in company with girls.

Aunt Dinah's dead.

The players sit in a circle, and one is chosen as leader. The leader says to her neighbour, "Aunt Dinah's dead." Her neighbour replies, "What did she die of?" "Of doing this," says the

leader, striking her left knee with her open left hand. The query and answer goes round the circle, the striking of the knee never ceasing from the time each commences. When it reaches the leader again the same process is commenced with the same query and answer, but it is now the right knee which is struck, the striking of the left knee never ceasing. In the next round the leader may commence by shaking her head, rocking her body, coughing, or any other motion which she thinks of. All being under the observation of their neighbours, a mistake is at once detected, and the player stands aside. Success is with the one that holds out longest.

The wee Melo-o-dy Man

Is a Jura sample of a like game, each of the players being supposed to have a musical instrument of their own. Starting as in "Aunt Dinah's dead," the leader commences imitating a player on the melodeon, the others commencing with him as if playing their own instrument, the whole party singing in unison—

" I'm the wee melo-o-dy man,
I'm the wee melo-o-dy man,
I do all that ever I can
To follow the wee melo-o-dy man."

The leader, however, suddenly begins to imitate the instrument of another of the players, and the one whose instrument has been appropriated must at once commence to imitate the melodeon. Supposing the leader's second instrument to be the drum, the moment he ceases to imitate drumming, the original player resumes his own instrument, and the one whose instrument, say the fiddle, has been adopted by the leader must then commence to play the melodeon. Want of promptness, becoming confused as to your instrument, forgetting to join in the singing, which continues all the while except when some of the players are declared to be "out," causes the maker of the mistake to stand aside, the longest "in" winning.

Statues

Is a like game. The leader in this case stands in the centre of the circle at first, but commences to run round and round inside it till the others call to her to stop. Instantly on the word, she stands,

throwing herself into any posture she thinks fit, the other players at once assuming the same. The leader then goes through a series of the most grotesque statuesque attitudes she can originate, the others following. No one is allowed to laugh, the first showing her teeth has to go into the centre and act as leader, the leader taking her place.

INCORRECT SPEAKING.

(P. 141, at the bottom.)

In the process of the deterioration of a language, Gaelic in this case, the sound is apt to convey its more usual meaning rather than the one which is becoming obsolete. The following sent from Uist is an example of this. "What English would you give for 'Is buidh dhuitsa, dol a phosadh aig deireadh na bliandhna'?" *Buaidh* (victory, something conducing to a person's advantage) is with difficulty distinguished in common speech from *buidhe* meaning 'yellow,' and it would appear that generally speaking the answer to the inquiry above is "It is yellow to you to be going to marry at the end of the year."

KNIFE GAMES.

A knife game played with a stick sounds peculiar, but it seems, looking to the headings which have been adopted, the most appropriate under which to include

Stickie Stick.

This is a boys' game, the stick used corresponding in appearance as nearly as possible to a roughly made cricket wicket. A soft piece of ground is chosen, and the first player holds his stick to his nose, hanging perpendicularly point downwards. He lets it drop; if it sticks he leaves it there. The next player, having in view to tumble the first player's stick over and leave his own in its place, goes about it in the same way. If number two succeeds in his endeavour, holding his stick to his nose as before, he tries to drop it three times, each time sticking in the ground, touching the upset stick of the first player. If successful he lifts and holds in one hand the first player's stick, and with his own

drives it away as far as possible. The first player has now to recover his stick and bring it back to the place from which it has been struck, meanwhile number two must have allowed his to drop from his nose and fix itself more or less upright in the ground ten times before number one is back. This finishes the routine, and number three tries to do with number two what he did with number one. When a failure occurs the player begins where he left off. In the game we have described number two would have been a winner at once, but such success is rare.

LEAP-FROG.

(P. 156, after line 11.)

Cailleach Mharbh is also played under the name of Bonnety.

One is fixed on by counting rhyme, etc., as "The Rider," the other players arrange themselves as described above, the boy who stands upright, however, puts his back against a wall and the boy next him bent down, rests his head on his hypogastrium, the other players forming a line extending from his rear. The rider has to struggle along the backs of the line till he can lay his hand on the head of the boy resting with his back against the wall—we may suppose to "bonnet" him. The line, of course, do everything they can, short of losing hold of each other, in the way of kicking, swinging, etc., to prevent the rider attaining his object.

Simple Leap-Frogging, that is, jumping over the head of another with the assistance of putting the hands on his shoulders, is quite common, one lad standing for all to jump over him, his place being taken by any one who fails to clear, or by all the players going down in succession and being jumped over from rear to front. The first way of playing is called, in the neighbourhood of Ardrishaig and elsewhere, "Bull the Cuddy."

MARBLES.

(P. 156, after line 11.)

This game is known in Ross-shire as "Punkie," and is called in Mid-Argyleshire "Monkey Chips."

(P. 157, after line 17.)

American Tag. Chippy Smash.

This was played with marbles as large as a walnut. Each player deposited, close to the base of a high wall, a single marble, the whole forming a line. The first threw his 'knicker' and caught it on the rebound, and then tried to strike out one of the line with it, say at a distance of from twelve to fourteen feet, the distance to which his marble rebounds. He continues playing from the same point as long as he continues to strike one of the deposited marbles. When he fails the next player takes his turn. In the absence of a convenient wall, the same names are applied to the simple knocking of the marbles deposited out of line, the stand being about the distance mentioned from the row of marbles.

Eyeack

Is played in Ross-shire. A small ring is made and each player deposits a marble on the ring. The order of play is determined by stringing. The first player stands over the ring, and holding his playing bool to his eye, tries to drop it on one of the marbles deposited. He continues playing so long as he continues to strike with each drop. The others follow in due order. The name is evidently connected with playing from the eye. That the name "Ia," used in Kintyre for a boy's playing bool, has the same derivation seems probable.

Darting

Is played in Ross-shire also. A smallish half circle is described at the foot of a wall and a stand is fixed a convenient distance from the semi-circle, on which each boy has deposited a marble. The order of play being fixed, the first player throws his plunker from the stand against the wall with the intention of hitting one or more of the marbles on the semi-circle in the rebound. If successful he pockets the marbles struck, and others are put down in their place by the players to whom they belonged. So long as he strikes a marble he plays again from the spot where his plunker rested, not being required to go back to the stand. If at his first throw a player sees that he is unlikely to strike

out a marble he may endeavour to catch his playing bool as it rebounds from the wall, and with a view to this contingency the thrower always follows up his knicker; if he catches it he has another shot. If he fails on the rebound either to strike out a marble or catch the one he is playing with, the next player has his turn.

MENTAL AGILITY.

(P. 169, after line 16.)

The following may be called an Imitative Game but we classify it here because the players get no lead showing the motions expected. "Dh'iarr MacShimein a bhi 'g obair, dh'iarr e leigeil 's dh'iarr e togail." (MacSimein wanted working, he wanted throwing down, and he wanted raising.)

This is an inside game played in Uist. The player taking the the part of MacSimein holds in his hand a switch, a sea-tangle, a knotted handkerchief with which to punish those making mistakes, and for convenience of this all the others playing are arranged in full view. All being ready to start, MacSimein shouts "Dh'iarr MacShimein a bhi 'g obair." (MacSimein looks for working.) The whole company put their hands in rapid motion as if working at something. MacSimein then says *e.g.* "Dh'iarr MacShimein a bhi *leigeil*," on which the whole company will imitate the motions of pulling something down. MacSimein continues ordering various movements, *togail*, *cireadh*, *snìomh*, *fuaighaigh*, *sabhadh* etc. (building up, carding, spinning, sewing, sawing, etc.); he may order what he likes and makes his changes as rapid and unforeseen as possible, the workers having to change with a like rapidity. The action of their hands must never cease. Any failure draws down instant punishment, MacSimein whacking the offender with his switch or whatever the instrument he is provided with.

The mental agility in the following is shown in the extemporized bargaining which is an incident in the game.

A' Chailleach a bha bleth. (The Old Wife grinding.)

An inside game played in Barra. The players sit in a circle, except one, who at first "takes a back seat." One of those in the

circle takes a short stick in her hand, representing the handle of a quern, with which she slowly imitates the motions of grinding, repeating time after time "Bleth O Chailleach" (Grind O old woman). Gradually she increases the rapidity of her movement, shortening what she says to "Bleth e" till hand and tongue are going as fast as she can make them. Another of the company now joins in saying, "Bail, bail, bail. Tha fear an tighe ag radh, ho, ha, ho, a' Chailleach aig am brath. Bail, bail, bail. Tha fear a' tighinn ga iarraidh." (Multure, multure, multure. The man of the house says ho, ha, ho, old woman at the mill. Multure, multure, multure. A man is coming to seek it.)

The Cailleach at the mill still keeping her hand going, asks "De 'n t-aodach bha air" (What clothes were on him), to which the other replies, "Lurach, larach, sean chroicinn. Bail, bail, bail. Tha fear ga iarraidh." (Lurach, larach, an old skin. Multure, multure, multure. A man is coming to seek it.) The player who took the back seat now comes forward in the character of a beggar suitably attired as described. He asks his share of the meal, he and the Cailleach having to settle the amount in an extemporized conversation. When this is finished, others take their turn, continuing the game.

We have translated *bail* 'multure,' which properly represents the miller's claim in recompense for his trouble, but *bail* is an old word used for the portion to be set apart for charitable distribution, so it was translated in Barra and O'Donovan O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary interprets it the same way. It seems to be connected with the word *mal*, *mail*, 'rent' 'tribute.' The 'old skin *lurach*' seems to go back to the time when leather coats were worn for defensive purposes, *luireach*, *lorica*, 'battle harness.'

R. C. MACLAGAN.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

A SOLUTION OF THE GORGON MYTH.

(Vol. xiv., 1903, p. 212 *sq.*)

I have recently had an opportunity of making a sketch of the fresco from Pompeii at the Naples Museum numbered 9688, and mentioned on p. 235 of the article above referred to. From the print herewith it will be seen that the description given in the text is fully borne out, and, as I think, it conclusively establishes my solution of the myth. Upon the same fresco, alongside the Perseo-lobster, is a sea cow with a long fish tail, of a greenish colour, completing the picture. The remarkable feature of the whole is that the lobster is rather larger than the cow swimming by its side.



Naples Museum, 9688.

Quite recently the papers have recorded the capture of an enormous lobster, so that there is no reason to reject the Pompeian fancy as anything more than poetic or artistic license.

I am also able to complete my illustrations by a sketch of the

group in the Palermo Museum from the Temple of Selinunte (see p. 232). This is probably the most ancient representation in existence of the exploit of Perseus. It is interesting to compare the Medusa in this relief, with that from six *De Gorgone* on p. 231—where the peculiarly shaped leg-scrolls of the Gorgon (Fig. 20) are nearly identical with those of the Perseus in the sketch herewith.



Palermo Museum.

At the Etruscan Museum at Florence is a terra-cotta having the face of a split-tongued Medusa of the type of Fig. 2, but instead of the tentacles shown on Figs. 2 and 3, there is mounted on the head as a part of it, an *Acroterion* almost identical with Fig. 17. Another specimen of the same kind is to be seen among the terra-cottas at the Louvre; indeed, much more evidence might be produced if it were necessary to further support that already provided.

The remarks on the Manaia (pp. 240-1) should lead to the examination of the Maori Feather-box illustrated in 'Man,' 1904, No. 111. The gaping mouth and the scrolls are repeated on all sides, but on the bottom is the same nondescript pair of jaws, attacking the head, as depicted on Figs. 26, 27. Much also

has of late been written about Rapanui or Easter Island, but nothing specially to throw light on my suggestion. I would, however, ask for a careful and candid comparison of Fig. 27 with the representation here given of Perseus and Medusa from Selinunte.

F. T. ELWORTHY.

RIDDLE-STORY FROM THE WYE VALLEY.

(*Ante*, p. 178.)

"Gone a-hunting; and all the game he kills he leaves behind, and all as he doesn't kill he brings home alive."

The riddle recorded by Miss Eyre from the Wye Valley must be of venerable antiquity, as Homer himself is said to have "given it up." It is found in the *Homeric Epigrams*, a collection of odd scraps which are neither Homeric or epigrammatic; one or two of the poems (notably the Potter's Song and the Eiresione) are well-known to folk-lorists. The story is told in the Pseudo-Herodotean Life of Homer, with variants in other "lives" of Homer (the references are collected by Abel, *Homeric Hymns*, etc., p. 126 f.). In the course of his wanderings Homer met some fishermen, and on asking about their catch received the answer,

ὅσα' ἔλομεν, λιπόμεσθ'. ὅσα δ' οὐχ ἔλομεν, φερόμεσθα.

"We have left all we caught, and bring all we did not catch."

According to one version, which the Pseudo-Herodotean biographer is at pains to reject, Homer died of vexation at his failure to solve the riddle. It is difficult to suppose that the Wye Valley borrowed from Greece; and the riddle may well have been invented independently. Does it occur elsewhere?

E. E. SIKES.

REVIEWS.

THE NATIVE RACES OF SOUTH AFRICA: A History of the Intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the Hunting Grounds of the Bushmen. By G. W. STOW, F.G.S. Edited by G. M. THEAL. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1905. Pp. xvi + 618, with 22 Plates and a Map. Price 21s.

THIS valuable work deals historically rather than descriptively with the native races—Bushmen, Hottentots, and Bantu; but for all that, there is much information for the anthropologist, especially with regard to the Bushmen. An especially valuable feature is the map showing Mr. Stow's conclusions as to lines of tribal migration, which, if criticisable in detail, is none the less of the highest importance. As was to be expected, a great antiquity is assigned to the Bushmen, both on *a priori* grounds and because their traditions, no less than their rock-paintings and carvings, bear evidence in favour of their prior occupancy of the soil. The Hottentots, in Mr. Stow's view, were relatively few in number—not more than 40,000 in all—and came from the north-east, striking the Atlantic on the west coast and then working their way southwards to the Cape of Good Hope, where they were found by sixteenth-century voyagers no very long time after their migration had been arrested by the waves of the ocean. Mr. Stow holds that the Bushmen, no less than the later invaders, came from the north, but in their case he can assign no cause and no date for the migration; the Hottentots, however, were, he conceives, forced southward by the pressure of the Bantu, who themselves eventually came southward in their wake in successive waves.

At the time when Mr. Stow came in contact with the Bushmen they were already too much broken up for it to be possible to recover much of their social organisation and beliefs. We learn something of their beliefs as to 'Cagn—the mantis god—and a future life; a myth of origin is given, and there are hints of initiation-ceremonies and secret knowledge possessed by kinship groups or societies. How far these were connected with certain animals must be a matter of conjecture, but it is of interest to note that their caves were decorated with animal paintings which gave a name to the inhabitants; these caves were the residence of the great chiefs, and those who acknowledged their authority received the same animal name. The lot of the Bushman in a future life depended on a due observance of rites, such as the amputation of the little finger; and though nothing in the nature of ancestor-worship was found, they were in the habit of apologising to the dead, saying that they wished to remain a little longer in the world. Their cave-paintings, mentioned above, and rock-sculptures excited Mr. Stow's interest, and he attempts to base on these two practices a division of the Bushmen into painters and sculptors. It is quite possible that different local groups differed in their style of decoration, for it is clear that painting is not adapted to open-air residences. Mr. Stow does not say how far the area occupied by his sculptor tribes contains caves which were left unadorned; but if local conditions determine the change from cave to kopje dwellings, we can attach no racial significance to the distribution of paintings and sculptures.

A long account of Bushman dances is given; they were largely mimetic, but a sexual element was not absent. Mr. Stow was unable to discover how far they were connected with religion. Some of the dances seem to have been in honour of or to propitiate Kaang or 'Cagn, who is represented as punishing certain offences; but the harvest of facts with regard to religion, marriage, and social organisation is lamentably small compared with what it might have been had Mr. Stow lived a hundred years earlier.

Of the Hottentot beliefs we learn but little. An interesting custom is, however, recorded as to the succession to the chief-

tainship. The eldest son of the chief was kept constantly supplied with milk, in order that he might grow up a strong man, and when he reached the age of manhood there began a series of conflicts between him and his father which only ended when the latter was knocked down, when custom compelled him to give up his position to his son. Up to the age of manhood the son was confined to his hut, and was not even allowed to wait upon himself, but received the milk from the hands of others. This so closely resembles some of the tabus imposed in many parts of the world on the young, more especially on women, that the confinement may have been among the Hottentots too something more than a mere accessory to the feeding-up process.

Another curious practice suggests a tabu of commensality. Although the cattle were so far the joint property of husband and wife that the consent of both was necessary before any were alienated, the women killed cattle for their own exclusive use. Unlike many South African tribes, the Korannas assigned to their women the duty of milking the cows, while the young men or boys were, as elsewhere, the herdsmen.

A long list of Koranna "clans" is given, but neither here nor in the case of the Bushmen do we learn precisely what constitutes membership of a clan. Like the Bushmen, they named some of these groups after animals, but no information is forthcoming as to the date at which these names were assumed, and the fact that most of them are Dutch suggests a late origin.

In Kidd's *Essential Kafir* it is mentioned that the chiefs' genealogies go further back than those of the ordinary man, for whom five or six generations are the limit. Mr. Stow shows us how far back some Bantu lists of ancestors go. The chief of the Bamangwato in 1879 could give the names of twenty-one of his forefathers. Of course, there is no check on the accuracy of such a list; but a careful comparison of a genealogy with the traditional history of the tribe itself and of its neighbours would go far to show how much reliance can be placed on records which antedate the appearance of the European in South Africa.

So much space is devoted by Mr. Stow to Bantu migrations that we hear little of their customs and beliefs; and what we do

hear is almost entirely on the subject of the *siboko*, usually regarded as a totem, as to which a note from the work before us appeared in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xv., p. 203. A list of the Bechuana *siboko* is given, which differs but little from those given by Fritsch and others. A point of interest is that the *siboko* of the Barolong is iron, which raises the question of the period at which the *siboko* was adopted. If it was an original *siboko*, it can hardly have been a totem, though it is possible that iron was known, but not worked or used, at a very much earlier period than is commonly supposed. On the other hand, the Barolong may have substituted iron for their earlier emblem. Some light is thrown on the question of date by the fact that the great ancestor of their chiefs, Noto—the Hammer for Iron—lived some nineteen generations ago—i.e. according to Mr. Stow's reckoning, at least six hundred years ago—when their traditions represent them as living far to the north; but naturally this inferior limit of date throws no light on the origin of the name. As to the question of the identity of the *siboko* and the totem, one or two curious usages with regard to the *siboko* are recorded. The Banoka (men of the porcupine), a branch of the Bapiri, introduce near the joints of a nursling certain parts of the stomach of the porcupine. When the sun rises covered with clouds the chief of the Baletsatsi (men of the sun) kindles a fire at his house, from which all the people get fire for their own use. The chief of the Baputi (men of the duiker) is buried in a duiker skin. But none of these points seem to throw much light on the origin or meaning of the *siboko*. There seems to have been a universal dread of setting eyes on the animal, alive or dead, and it was not eaten nor even touched, save as a measure of precaution to prevent ill effects when they had chanced to look upon it unwittingly. The chief, however, was in the habit in some of the tribes of using the fur as a cloak, just as among the Baputi it was used as his shroud. It is of course no novelty to find a chief exempt from the ritual prohibitions imposed upon his subjects; but the association of this with the undoubted fact that the cult of the *siboko* as we know it is a form of ancestor worship, suggests that after all it may have nothing to do with totemism. Mr. Stow states very

positively that some of the tribes have adopted a new *siboko*; in particular, the Bamangwato are asserted to have done so only four generations ago. The Batauana (men of the young lions) seem to have originated later still under a chief called Tauana. That there is a substantial basis for this account of the change of *siboko* seems clear from the fact that the Bamangwato share the Bakuena respect for the crocodile. At the same time it must not be forgotten that Chapman and others assert that respect for it was general among the Bechuana. It might therefore be argued that the Bamangwato merely exemplify this attitude, due in all probability to the use of the crocodile in magic. Against this view, however, may be set the duplication of the *siboko* of the Batlaru, who respect both the python and the wild olive. This may indeed be explained by the hypothesis of an amalgamation of kins; but it seems more probable that a change of *siboko* has actually taken place in more than one instance. If so, the case of the Barolong presents no special difficulty.

Against the suggestion of a non-totemic origin of the *siboko* may seem to tell that among other Bantu tribes we find all the marks of totemism—exogamy, as well as respect for an eponymous animal. But if we take the case of the Ova-Herero, this argument is seen to be faulty. The Ova-Herero have a duplex organisation—that of the *eanda* with matrilineal descent, and that of the *oruzo* with patrilineal descent. Neither organisation has anything to do with the regulation of marriage, but, according to one account, marriage takes place, as a rule, within the *oruzo*. On the other hand, two *omaanda* are said to form a “unity,” which suggests some rule of intermarriage. However that may be, it seems clear that, if there is any trace of totemism, it is in the *eanda*. If so, the case of the other Bantu tribes may be similar, save that the matrilineal organisation has completely disappeared, leaving only what corresponds to the *oruzo*. The origin of the *oruzo* is not yet explained, and I cannot discuss it here; but if in dealing with South African problems we clear our minds of totemism as a necessary part of our solution, we are opening the door to a more impartial survey than the question has yet received.

It has been mentioned above that Mr. Stow's work is historical rather than descriptive; but even with the descriptive portion left out, it would be well worth the attention of the anthropologist as a specimen of how history may be written from tradition. We do not indeed learn from whom Mr. Stow obtained his information, nor do we know how far all his information was concordant—two important points in dealing with evidence of any description, but especially with narratives which cannot be checked by written records. But in regretting the absence of these data, we must not forget that the MS. was unfinished at the author's death; in fact, a large part of his labours lay still before him.

For the get-up of the book it is impossible to find anything but praise. Both print and illustrations are excellent, and there is an index of over fifty pages; not only so, but, in contrast with anthropological works issued by some firms, the index has been prepared by some one who knew what was wanted.

N. W. THOMAS.

ORIGINES ISLANDICAE, edited and translated by GUDBRAND VIGFUSSON and F. YORK POWELL. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1905.

IN reviewing the work of the late joint editors of these volumes, it must always be borne in mind that they have done more to spread the knowledge of Icelandic literature in England than all other English writers put together. Remembering therefore so considerable a debt, especially so soon after the lamented death of the survivor of the two, the critic feels less inclined to point out faults than to acknowledge the value and extent of the work done. Neither had a sufficiently severe training in philology, both were accustomed to use too slashing a hand in the treatment of texts; and both these faults are sometimes apparent in the present volumes, though to a far less irritating degree than in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, to which they form a belated sequel.

Nevertheless, the four volumes together form a monument to the enthusiasm and industry of the editors.

The intention of this collection is to give in a convenient form the materials for the early history of the Icelandic commonwealth, these being gathered from Sagas, Laws, Bishops' Lives, and the other known historical sources, in the possession of which Iceland is so rich. The story of the discovery and settlement are followed by early laws and customs, the conversion of the colony, and its church history; the second volume contains selections from the Sagas, bearing on the history of the four quarters during the heathen time, and tales of the explorations further west. Readers who object, on the score of literary form, to the treatment of the Sagas in this section, must remember that they are dealt with as documents, only those parts being chosen which suit the purpose of the work.

The most important documents for the early history of Iceland are of course *Landnámabók* and the *Libellus*, which, together with some genealogies from the Sagas and the account of the settlement of Thorsness from *Eyrbyggja*, make up the first division. *Landnáma* has an interest beyond its genealogical value in the occasional notes of old superstitions and heathen customs which are scattered through it. There is mention of sacrifice to the dead in the case of Thorstein Scrofi, to whom sacrifice was made after death "because of his popularity"; of human sacrifices to Thor at Thorsness; and of some interesting burial survivals, such as the laying of Asmund Atlason in a boat in the howe, with a thrall "who slew himself and would not live after Asmund." A superstition which long survived appears in the story of Grim Ingjaldsson, who pulled up a merman while he was fishing, and was drowned "ere spring came"; and another incident which breaks the monotony of genealogy is that of the troll whom Einar Sigmundsson saw sitting on a cliff, and dashing his heels together in the surf in order to make the spray rise.

The section on "Primitive Laws and Customs" is not exhaustive so far as the Saga-material is concerned; some customs and beliefs omitted here are given later where they occur in the longer Saga extracts in the second volume, though many of the sorceries

practised in *Vatzdala* and *Hölmverja* are either omitted or marked as spurious. Such fragments of ancient practice as the law that "it was murder to kill a child" that had received a name (*Hölmverja*) might have been included here. The collection under this head is interesting. Accounts are given of the ritual followed in the ordeal of passing under the turf; in sworn-brotherhood; in the oaths taken on the temple-ring and on the boar of Frey; and in the divine toasts and the memorial toasts to dead kindred drunk at sacrificial feasts. In the account of the divine toasts there is an error in punctuation too important to be overlooked. "*Scylde fyrst Oðens-full, scylde þat drecca til sigrs oc ríkes conunge sinom: en síðan Njarðarfull, oc Freys-full, til árs oc friðar*" should be translated "First must come Odin's toast; he must drink that to victory and power for his king; and then Njord's toast, and Frey's toast, to plenty and peace." In the translation (p. 309), a semicolon after "Njord's toast" obscures the fact that the toasts to both Njord and Frey were "to plenty and peace," Njord still retaining a share in the functions of an earth-god, in which he was being superseded by his more popular younger rival.

In the section on "The Young Colony," only those portions of the Sagas are taken which deal with life in Iceland; the Norwegian adventures which played so important a part in the life of many young Icelanders are therefore omitted. This has the advantage of limiting the scope of the work strictly to Iceland and the Icelandic colonies. The Sagas from which selections are made are well chosen. *Eyrbyggja* is an inevitable choice, from its mass of legal material; *Njála*, which might have been chosen for the same reason, is not included. *Laxdala*, the only other of the great Sagas represented here, and *Gísla*, are already well known in English versions; but some English readers will read for the first time the tragic story of Hord, ill-fated from the day he was born into a divided household, and his sister Thorbjorg, the baby-girl who, cast off alike by her mother's kin and by her father, journeyed through Iceland on the back of a tramp till she was taken in by that protector of the destitute, Grim the Little (*Hölmverja*); the finely told avenging of Olaf Havardsson (*Havards Saga*); and the less tragic *Vatzdala* (of

which there is a translation only, without text), with its interesting survivals of custom and superstition.

It is a pity that the translations, excellent as a rule, should be marred by occasional eccentricities, such as the coined words *wrongeous* (translating *ranglátr*), *aliened*, etc.; and it is unlikely that the word *heredmoot* will convey any more meaning to the English reader than the *héraðsþing* which it translates. The versions are also disfigured by frequent alternative translations (e.g. "rede or counsel"), and bracketed translations of proper names, which, if necessary, might better have been placed in foot-notes or index. It is possible that these were merely notes for the editors' own use, and would have been removed by those "final touches" the lack of which is regretted in the prefatory note.

The treatment of proper names is not happy. Sometimes they are translated, sometimes transliterated, sometimes left in their Icelandic form. It is a pity that the last course was not adopted throughout: the translation of proper names is unnecessary to the Icelandic student; the forms are often unwieldy; and to readers who do not know the original they are misleading, while it is not likely that, for instance, "Se-unn or Seawen" will be more comprehensible to them than *Sæuð*. Nor are the forms adopted consistent: thus the female name *Iorúnn* is variously represented by *Eorwynn*, *Eorwend*, *Eorwen*, *Iorund*; and *Úfeigr* is sometimes translated *Unfey*, while throughout the version of *Ljósvetninga* it is written *Ufey*. Of the two most famous Norse kings, Olaf the Saint keeps his name in its Norse form, while his equally well-known predecessor appears as Anlaf Tryggwason. It is surely unnecessary too to translate the name of the god Thor.

In some cases a serious liberty is taken with the names. The late editors held a brief for the hypothetical Irish influence on Iceland; and in accordance with this, they frequently represent Norse names in translation by supposed Irish equivalents. Thus *Thormod*, *Gjaflaug*, *Cetill* are translated *Diarmaid*, *Geibhleach* or *Gibleach*, and *Cathal*, though all are common Scandinavian names. In *Landnáma*, III. 5, 12, *Una*, which is the genitive of *Unn*, is translated *Una* [*Unadh*]; and in I. 9, 6, *Svarthell* is

represented in the English version, without a word of explanation or qualification, by *Cathal-dubh*, though it is difficult to see why, if *Svartkell* and *Gjasslaug* be Irish, *Thorhell*, *Hallkell*, *Grimkell*, *Aslaug*, *Guðlaug*, *Thorlaug*, etc., should not be similarly equated.

Those who have seen the volumes through the press do not clear themselves of all responsibility by an expression of regret that the work lacks the final touches of its editors. There are many errors which they could have corrected, and which can only be explained by the assumption that translation and text were not revised together in proof. There are cases (e.g. *Landnáma*, I. 10, 3) where words occurring in the translation have no equivalent in the text. Again, in *Landnáma*, II. 5, 3, "*ok gróf þar í staðolshlíðe*" (and dug there in the gateway of the fold) is translated "and dug a fort there in the slope by the fold-gate," an evident confusion of alternative renderings. There are false etymologies in *Harrowdale*, *Harrowholt* (translating *Horgardal*, *Hærgsholt*), and *We-thorm* (*Wép-orm*); and there are many mistakes (in addition to the far too long list of corrigenda) due to carelessness in proof-reading; e.g. *Eanwend* for *Eyvind*, *Amund* for *Onund*, *Beare* for *Biarne*, *Bride-dale* (translating *Breiðdal*), *Thorstan Smiths* (where the original is of course in the genitive); all of which occur in the course of a few pages in *Landnáma*.

L. WINIFRED FARADAY.

ENGLISH MEDICINE IN THE ANGLO-SAXON TIMES. By JOSEPH FRANK PAYNE. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1904.

THE Fitz-Patrick Lectureship, a gift by an Irishman to an English College, commences its history by a course of lectures on Anglo-Saxon Medicine. By no man living probably could the subject have been handled in a more scholarly and complete manner than by the learned bibliophile who was chosen to be the first occupant of this position. His attitude towards the works of which he treats is quite admirable, for he recognises, as all should, but as

comparatively few do, that to approach the study of books of this early period merely for the purpose of discovering "quaint" things or of providing amusement for gaping ignoramuses is to throw away one's labour, and that the only way in which real value can be obtained is to try and project oneself into the minds of the writers of the time and discover their attitude towards the subject with which they were concerned and its consonance with the literature, science and knowledge of the period.

The first work dealt with, *The Leech Book of Bald*, is the most important surviving memorial of Anglo-Saxon medicine. The MS. in existence appears to have been written shortly after the death of Alfred, but the book itself must have been composed at an earlier date. It was the text-book of a man in medical practice, and as he alludes to two confrères, Dun and Oxa, it is clear that a Faculty of some kind was then in existence. As usually happens in these early books, treatment looms larger than diagnosis, and principles of any kind are conspicuous by their absence. Some of the diseases are spoken of under rather striking names; "half head's ache" is an excellent Englishing of our *hemicrania*, the *migraine* of the French, and "circle-adle" is a good name for our *herpes zoster* or shingles. "Poccas" or "poc-adle" seems to be our modern small-pox, and there are many other terms over which one cannot linger. The actual accounts of diseases are—like our own—mixtures of tradition and observation, but unlike our own, the tradition is not corrected by observation, but set down beside it without any critical treatment. Take the case of pleurisy, fully given at p. 50. About half this description agrees more or less with that given by Aretæus, and a good many points in it are common to all the classical writers, from Hippocrates downwards. But there are several points not discoverable in any ancient writer which must have been evolved by Bald himself or by some of his island brethren, so that on the whole we get a mixture of ancient traditions mingled with some direct observation. Not much of the latter; for the absence of any proof of clinical observation is a marked feature in a book in which the feeling of the pulse is not once alluded to. Added to what we may call the science of the day is a superstitious element, consisting of charms and formularies. Dr. Payne traces many of these to late Greek and Latin medicine,

others to forms used by the clergy, others again he thinks may represent Teutonic and Celtic folklore.

Any person in the least familiar with early medicine will be well aware how largely it is based upon herbs, and Dr. Payne selects the "Herbarium" of Apuleius for consideration under this heading. The MS. of this work, in the British Museum, is believed to have been written about 1000-1050 A.D. The original Apuleius Platonicus (it was an Apuleius of Madaura who wrote "The Golden Ass") appears to have written in the fifth century and possibly in Africa, and the book in question is an English adaptation. It is remarkable, as Dr. Payne points out, how many of the plants had, even at that time, an English name, and, in many cases, a very charming and expressive name too. "Waybraid" or "waybroad" is, as he says, a much more picturesque name than plantain, and "Unfortraedde" ("untrodden-to-pieces") admirably expresses the character of knotgrass. Amongst the herbs, of course, mandrake occupies a prominent position, and Dr. Payne devotes some space to discussion of the many curious facts alleged about it. It is less easy to understand why so inconspicuous, or even ugly, a plant as mug-wort (*artemisia*) and one therapeutically speaking so very inert, should occupy a position of such importance. Yet it is said to put "to flight devil-sickness (demoniac possession); and in the house in which one hath it within, it forbiddeth evil leechcrafts, and also it turneth away the (evil) eyes of evil men." And, Dr. Payne points out, it was in high respect amongst the early Greek physicians. The figures in this herbal, a number of which are reproduced, together with figures from other similar books, are interesting, and it is specially to be noted that as the artists copied each from an earlier work and not from nature, the drawings get to look less and less like the real thing. This was not due to laziness, but to the fact that the pictures were intended not to represent natural or known objects, but to identify the plants described by the old writers, an instance of science held in bondage by tradition.

Dr. Payne's summary of this portion of his subject is interesting and very instructive, and may here be quoted: "The Anglo-Saxons took a keen interest in the study of plants for medicinal uses. Much of this was doubtless due to the monkish physicians

and the herb-gardens of the monasteries, but there must also have been a popular and widespread love of flowers—a national characteristic which may still be recognised in the cottage gardens of the South of England. Along with this there went accurate observation and discrimination, so that these unlearned botanists were able to recognise and name a much larger number of native plants than they could have known through the translated Latin books. Their knowledge of botany was not only much more extensive than has been supposed, but it was original."

Passing over the subject of Anglo-Saxon surgery, we must devote a small space to the deeply interesting subject of charms in connection with the medicine of the period, a portion of the book particularly interesting to students of folklore and well worthy of their careful attention. In answering the question as to whether these Saxon charms—or a large part of them—are not derived from Teutonic or Celtic medical folklore, Dr. Payne lays stress on the difficulty of coming to a decision, since it is hard to know whether a charm may have originated in folklore or in borrowed learning, for a good "deal of so-called folk-medicine is old-fashioned medicine which has sunk down to the level of the unlearned, and has sometimes put on a rustic dress." Many of these charms can, in fact, be traced to Oriental, Greek or Latin sources. Some of the curious words used in some of these incantations—evidently without any knowledge on the part of the user as to their meanings—appear to be Irish, or perhaps Scotch Gaelic, of others the original language cannot even be guessed so changed have the words become. The spirit of the Leech-books is Christian, and hence everything in the nature of "rune-lays" is purposely omitted as being of heathen origin. The Church banned such incantations, and had her own blessings for herbs, potions, and unguents. Many directions as to the proper psalms and prayers to be said when gathering plants, as well as to the times when they should be sought, appear in the books of which Dr. Payne deals. On the whole, one obtains from this work a most vivid picture of the medical science of the time, and I confidently recommend it to all interested in the social history of the early days of England.

BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE.

JUL : ALLESJÆLESTIDEN ; HEDENSK, KRISTEN JULEFEST. Vol. I.

By H. F. Feilberg. Copenhagen : 1904.

"A POPULAR exposition on a scientific basis" describes in brief the character of this work on Christmas by Dr. Feilberg, from whose extensive knowledge of the popular beliefs and customs of Scandinavia one confidently expects an adequate handling of the subject. This expectation is quite realised as regards the more important sections composing the present volume, though taken as a whole it leaves on the mind something of a desire for a stricter method and more conclusiveness. This, however, may be remedied in part in the second volume, of the scope of which no indication is given.

The work opens with a section of considerable length (80 pages) on the cult of the dead, showing by examples from many lands how great a part this plays in the popular imagination. The section is extremely interesting in itself, and is written with much sympathy, but its bearing on the main subject is not at all clearly indicated, though Dr. Feilberg ends it with the words, "All these traits recur one by one in the northern beliefs relating to Yule." Perhaps this may be demonstrated later on, but at present it seems a little difficult to bring Christmas into any close connexion with the *Dies Ira*, the *Child of Bristowe*, and other pieces of various kinds which the author cites at length.

Passing to the specific subject of his book, Dr. Feilberg deals first with the "Old Northern Yule," giving in outline an account of the great midwinter feast, but somewhat obscuring the facts by the introduction of a good deal of extraneous matter, part of which would more appropriately have gone into the preceding section. The visit of Sigrun to Helgi in his grave-mound, for example, the hauntings of Þórólf Bægifót and Glám, and similar tales, are striking enough, but have nothing directly to do with Yule and its festivities. The same objection applies to the description of the *spákona* Thorbjörg, with which the chapter closes: here the author himself admits that he does not know "that it is anywhere expressly stated that Yule-time, or even winter, was specially favourable for the art of foretelling the future."

From these old traditions it is a far cry to the third section, in which the modern Danish Yule, with all its attendant observances, general and local, is described in detail, while Norway and Sweden are similarly dealt with in the sections which follow. Here Dr. Feilberg has clearly taken great pains to make his presentation of the subject as complete as possible, and his lively descriptions succeed in bringing out very distinctly the prominent place which the Christmas season holds in the hearts of the whole community. Many curious details and variations of custom in the three Scandinavian countries are mentioned, the reasons for which leave much room for speculation: in many cases accident or local fancy may be the only reason after all. The whole material is so varied that any attempt at summarising it here would be useless, but all this part of the work might with advantage be translated into some language more commonly known than Danish.

The natural sequel to these three sections is the very popular one at the end of the volume, entitled "How Christmas is kept," and containing accounts from all corners of the world. It is an obvious defect in arrangement that this is separated from its fellows by an historical dissertation on the "Christian Yule." This ought rather to have followed immediately on the section which deals with the "Old Northern Yule." In that case the historic connexion, or rather the want of it, between the old and the new would have come more clearly before the reader.

While Dr. Feilberg's work bears evident traces of the difficulty of being at once scientific and popular, it is one from which there is much to be learned even by those who take up the subject of popular customs in its most serious aspect. Any demand for the ultimate evidence on which the statements are based is anticipated by the copious references to original authorities given at the end of the volume. A glance at these is sufficient proof of the wide reading and research which have gone to the making of an interesting book. Scandinavia has done marvels in the way of collecting its folk-lore, and it is well that it also has scholars capable of combining the scattered items in a work of this kind.

W. A. CRAIGIE.

JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLKLORE, Vol. XVII., Oct.-Dec., 1904.

It is a fact not unworthy of remark that of the six articles in this number only three are of the type which we are accustomed to see in *Folklore*. These all deal with folk-tales, one French-Canadian, one of the Digueños (it might have been well to say who they are), and the third, a comparative article on points of resemblance between an ancient Egyptian and Amerindian folk-tales.

Of the remainder, one—a discussion by Dr. Boas of some traits of primitive culture—is of a type which might well be commoner on this side the water. I may be doing the Folklore Society an injustice, but I think it can hardly be maintained that the work of synthesis or even of criticism keeps pace with the work of collection. Among American folklorists collections, though they are not of course to be despised, stand on a distinctly lower plane than analytic or synthetic work.

The other two articles deal respectively with Filipino drama, including native, Christian, and Mohammedan religious, and modern seditious plays; and with proverbs in the making. It is, however, difficult to see how such a pronouncement as "the anatomical characters of the races have in all their main points remained constant" can be classed as a proverb, the very essence of the proverb being homeliness and wit.

The classified records of Amerindian and Negro folklore are a very useful feature of this excellent periodical, and the Folklore Society would do well to undertake a similar work for British dependencies. Provided the classification is accurate, no work is more useful; unfortunately the only attempt at bibliography in Europe—the *Centralblatt*, I do not include the *International Catalogue of Science and Literature* as being far too incomplete—is marked by extraordinary inaccuracy. Another feature of the J.A.F.L. which might well be imitated is the space devoted to notices, practically folklore news of the day.

N. W. THOMAS.

Books for Review should be addressed to

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XVI.]

DECEMBER, 1905.

[No. IV.]

WEDNESDAY, 21st JUNE, 1905.

MR. H. B. WHEATLEY IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss Isabel Dickson and Mrs. E. J. Dunnill as members of the Society was announced.

The enrolment of the Adelaide Library as a Subscriber and the resignation of Miss McCaskie were also announced.

Mr. Wright exhibited and explained a number of Chinese and Japanese charms, of which the following is a list, viz. :—

Chinese.—Divination blocks used by fortune-tellers, jade wheel and lock charms, three charm hairpins, child's charm against accident, street cake lottery set, and three metallic charms.

Japanese.—Temple divination-box (from Dr. Dresser's collection), printed medicine-charm washed with water used as curative drink, lucky purse, three curious charms of cooked grain, etc., and a cup and platter of Soma ware used as a charm against paralysis: also a Korean charm and a Russian ikon.

Dr. Gaster read a paper entitled "The Legend of Merlin" [p. 407], and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Miss Paton, Mr. Nutt, Miss Jessie Weston, and Miss Hawkins-Dempster took part.

The Meeting terminated with votes of thanks to Mr. Wright for his exhibits and to Dr. Gaster for his paper.

The following additions to the Society's Library were reported :

Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes du XIV^e Congrès des Orientalistes.

Analecta Bollandiana, Vol. xxiv. Parts 1 and 2 (by exchange).

Moghdiya Taz-Zuicen, No. 44.

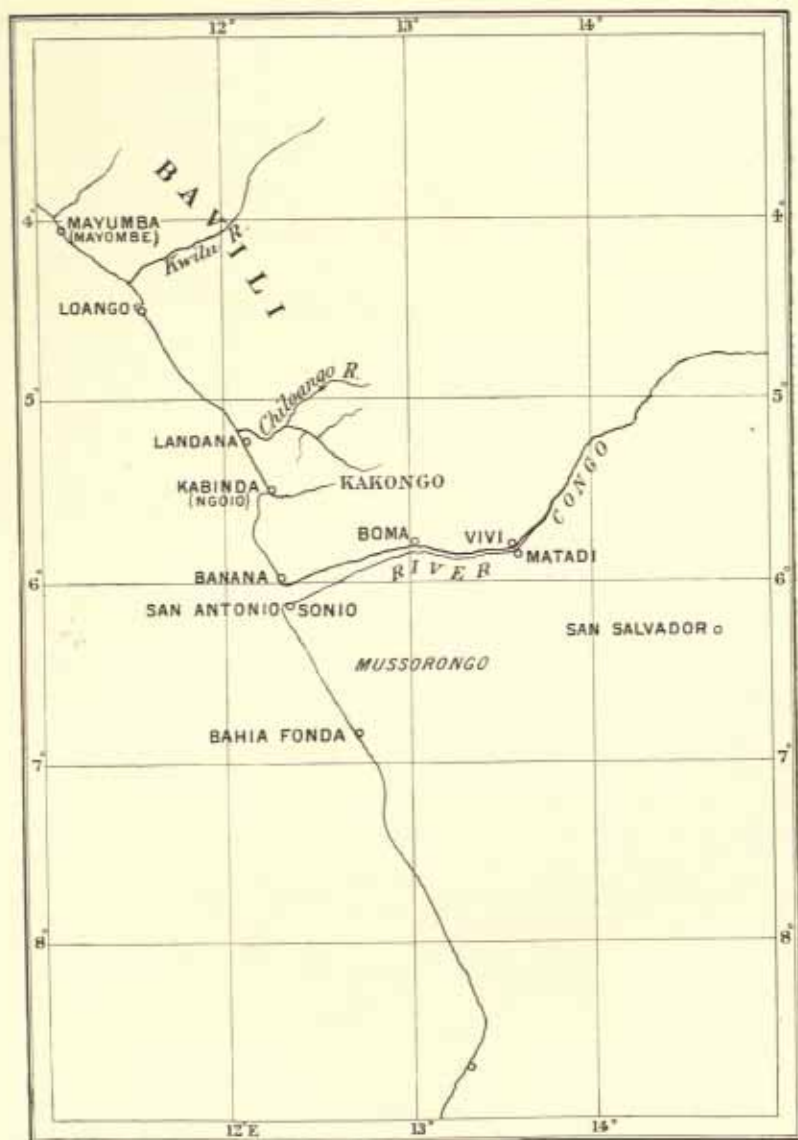
X-jgheid il Malti fuk Id-Dinja ta' Taht, by the Rev. Father Magri, presented by the Author.

Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. vii., presented by the Society.

Y Cymmrodor, Vol. xviii., presented by the Cymmrodorion Society.

Neolithic Dew-Ponds and Cattleways, by A. J. Hubbard and G. Hubbard, presented by the Authors.

The American Antiquarian, Vol. xxvii.; and the 21st and 22nd *Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, presented by the Bureau.



MAP OF THE LOANGO COAST.

To face p. 371.

BAVILI NOTES.¹

BY R. E. DENNETT, AUTHOR OF "SEVEN YEARS AMONG THE FJORT,"
"FOLKLORE OF THE FJORT," ETC.

(*Read at Meeting, 19th April, 1905.*)

THE SOUL.

When I read that according to the observation of Mr. So and So the same word is used among a certain people for breath, shadow, ghost, and soul, I do not conclude that the observer in question is wrong. Neither, however, am I led to suppose that these four distinct ideas are one in the mind of those people. I know how hard it is for an observer of primitive, arrested, or degraded people's thoughts to get at their real meaning; and I know that in some cases one word may stand for four distinct ideas.² Even in the country in which I live, although the white man has been here over four hundred years, I doubt if there are many who could enter on this subject with any

¹[The Bavili, otherwise known as the Fiote or Fjort, are a Bantu tribe living on the Loango coast, north of the Congo river (see map), where till the recent troubles Mr. Dennett had resided for nearly a quarter of a century. Miss Kingsley, as we know, formed the highest opinion of his intimate knowledge of the natives.]

Mr. Dennett has slightly varied his system of spelling the Fjort language, since we last had the pleasure of receiving a communication from him, but the following hints on pronunciation will perhaps be sufficient. The vowels should be sounded as in Italian; the *au* or *aw* which in some cases replaces the *o* formerly used, apparently representing the sound of the open Italian *o*. *X* should be sounded as *tsh*, *c* always soft; and a slight breathing, or indefinite vowel-sound, should be heard before the initials *M* and *N*, when followed by a consonant.—ED.]

²Take the Bavili word *Mabili* for instance.

great hope of giving you a definite idea of the difference the native draws between life, shadow, breath, and intelligence on the one hand, and ghost, soul, and spirit on the other.

1. *Xidundu*, or *Shadow*. Children are frightened of shadows. I remember when it was considered a crime for a person in this part of the country to trample on or even to cross the shadow of another, more especially if the shadow were that of a married woman. This shadow the Bavili call *Xidundu*. To-day people are still very particular about passing one another; but a new-comer would be rather reminded of the custom at home that it is rude to pass in front of anyone, and inclined to put this habit down to a native's natural politeness.

At night the *Xidundu* is said to sleep in the body of its owner; and that it is considered a very vital part of man we gather from the fact that should an *ndoxi*, or dealer in black arts, rob a sleeper of his *Xidundu*, he is said to take away his life. The *Xidundu* enters and comes out of the body by the mouth (*Munu*) and is then likened to the breath (*Muvu*) of a man. When a man dies, he is said to have no shadow, even as he has no breath. Thus in the mind of the Bavili both *Xidundu* and *Muvu* are part of mortal man, and die with him. But when a person swoons, or has a fit, or is in a trance, they say some *ndoxi* (witch, or rather wizard), has taken his *Xidundu*, and it is just at the pleasure of the witch to return it or not. Should you kill the *ndoxi*, the *Xidundu* in question would escape with another member of the *ndoxi's* family. Supposing even that you know the witch who has secured your friend's shadow, you may not go to him and ask him to return it; you must get two or three *ngangas*¹ to confirm your supposition, who will visit the sick person, and cry out to the *ndoxi* to leave

¹[*Nganga*, pl. *zinganga*=priest, medicine-man. Mr. Dennett considers that the primary meaning of the word is *repeater*; cf. our "soothsayer."—ED.]

the person alone, and then threaten to call out his name if he does not return the *Xidundu*, and then if it is not returned, knock some fetish, calling his name out, so that if the *ndoxi* does not return the *Xidundu* he will surely die.

2. *Ximbindi*, or *Revenant*. We have already learnt a good deal about the *Bimbindi* in the tales in *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort* (pp. 11-16, 115, 156).

After death the *Ximbindi* of a person may rest in the house in which he dies for twenty days, after which it goes off to the woods and lives the very natural kind of life described in the above tales. But the *Ximbindi* of an *ndoxi* may haunt the place he died in for ever.

It is believed that if a person ever sees the *Ximbindi* of one of his relations that person who sees it may die; but should any one be beaten by one, that person certainly has not long to live.

An *ndoxi* who has the proper medicine (*mpanga*) is spoken of as having the power of *Nyungala*. Such a *ndoxi* catches and keeps *Bimbindi*, and sends them out to beat and kill living persons. This *ndoxi* has also the power to send the leopard to kill people, or the crocodile to drown them or to carry their *Bimbindi* away under the waters to some island in the river Kongo, where he collects them previous to selling them to the white man, who (they believe) makes his cloth beneath the blue sea far away.

The girl mentioned in *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort* (p. 11) as living in Malela, and as having died and been buried there, and then sold in Boma as a slave, and who afterwards came back to her family, was supposed to be under the influence of *Nyungala* by her parents. Since giving this example of a living *Ximbindi* I have heard of another case. A girl of the village of Lumbembika, in the upper Lukulu river in Kakongo, died and was buried. Some time after this

her mother, having made a long journey into the bush, came across her daughter and asked her how she got there. She said that she had been sold to the chief of that town. After some palavers and delay she was brought back to her town, where she lived as a *Ximbindi*. She was forbidden to go near the place where she had been buried. The only difference people noticed about her was that her will was not her own, and that her eyes were like those of a person who had been drinking.¹

3. *Xilunzi*, or *ndunzi*, the intelligence, dies, so they say, with man, and a *Ximbindi* is simply a tool in the hands of the *ndoxi*, and has no *ndunzi*.

4. *Nkulu*, voice or soul of the dead. The *Bakulu*, or souls, of the Bavili have nothing to do with witches, or shadows, or ghosts, or breath, or even intelligence: they are the good and guiding voices of the *good* dead, i.e. of those who are not *ndoxi*. They prefer to dwell in the heads of some of their near relations, and are placed there as described in the *Death and Burial of the Fjort*.² If they are not fortunate enough to find such a habitation, they are said to hover about the outer division, or verandah, of the houses of their relations. They are never seen. They mourn with their relations when in trouble and long to help them. And they say that if every one of the Bavili were destroyed to-morrow, these *Bakulu* would hover about in the grass around their town for ever and ever.

I was very much touched the other day when present at the funeral of a woman whom I had learnt to respect very much, to note the careful way in which the brother picked up the sacred earth from the grave of his now

¹[There is, of course, no reason to suppose that these narratives have any basis in fact further than the abduction of people for sale into slavery, accomplished perhaps with the aid of hypnotism? N. W. T.—I knew the parties. R. E. D.]

²*Folklore*, vol. viii. p. 136.

buried sister. His wife held out the end of the red cloth serving as her husband's waistband, and he carefully placed the earth in it. She then doubled the cloth over it and tied the whole into a knot. This earth at some future date will be placed by some *nganga* in the little horn (*likawla*), or then in the little tin box (*nkobi*), so that the *nkulu* of the dead sister may be placed in the head of some living relation, and her guiding voice be once more heard by those who loved her.

There are apparently various kinds of *kulu* among the Bavili:

1. *Nkulu bakakata* (or the soul of our ancestors) causes women to bear offspring.

2. *Nkulu npunu* is also a soul of the past, that causes babies to fall sick.

3. *Nkulu yiansi* is the soul of one who has just died. It is placed in the head of a living relation for the purpose of consultation, as described.

The *muntu nsambi*¹ will not reckon as "*nkulu*" the *nkulu ndoxi* (i.e. *kulu* of the person dealing in black arts). This *nkulu* of the dead wizard only a wizard seeks to have placed in his head; but apparently it exists after all that has been said to the contrary by me and my informers in *nkici*.² It is a sore point with the Bavili, and they prefer to tell us that the *nkulu* of a wizard ceases at his death.

NOTES.—I. *Lu Muéno*, or the Mirror. It is "*Xina*"³ to throw the light reflected from a mirror upon a person; and when the light passes across the face of an individual he cries out: "Leave me alone, I have *ndudu*"⁴ medicine in my body." It is not a crime, but more of the nature

¹[*Muntu nsambi*=man of God, i.e. worthy man, man who repudiates any connection with witchcraft; see below, p. 382.]

²[*Nkici*=mysterious power; fetishism; holy thing, idol, fetish.]

³Forbidden; see below, p. 390.

⁴[See list of *Nkicikici*, personal protective charms, *infra*, p. 380.]

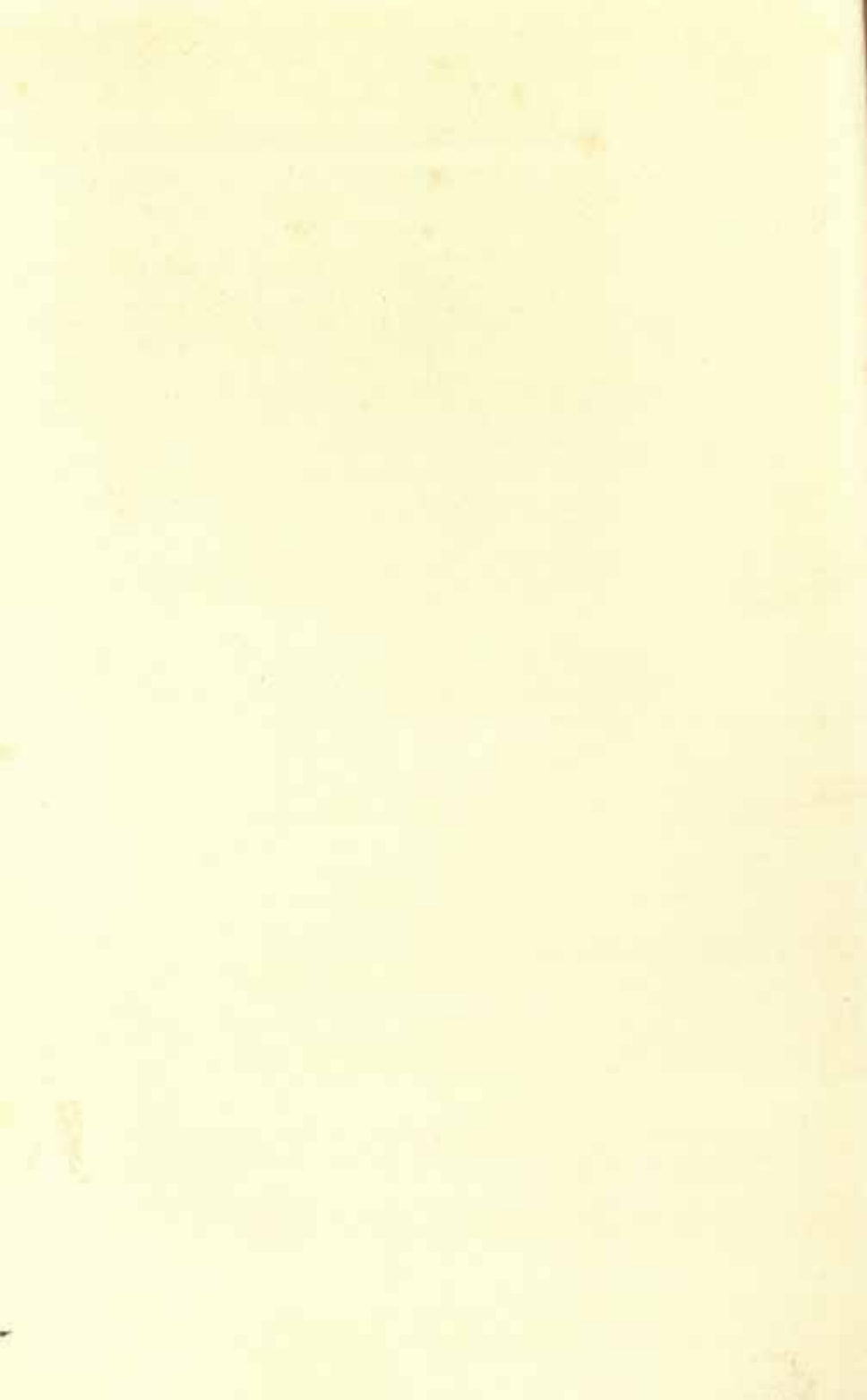
of an insult, to throw this light upon a person. Bits of looking-glass are to be found fixed in trees, and in the eyes and stomach of many fetishes. The light thus thrown is called *ntenia lu muéno*. Then there is the divining mirror of *Nganga Mpuku Nyambi*,¹ used when the *Mambomas* (chiefs whose duty it is) cannot agree who shall be elected Maloango, or King.

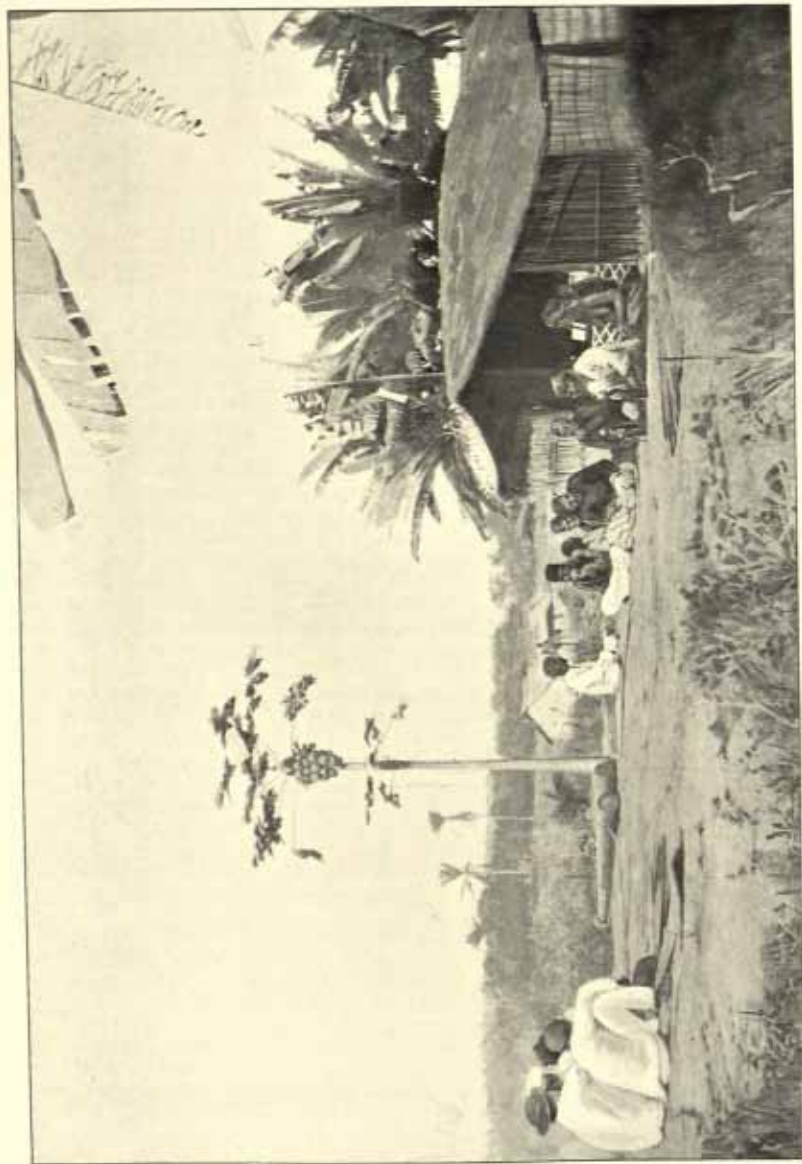
II. *Photography*. When one wanders about a native village with a camera and points it at people with the intention of taking their photographs, they invariably at first run away. They say that they are afraid that the photographer wishes to take away their life or *Monio*.

FETISHES.

[Mr. Dennett classifies the objects revered by the Bavili as (1) *nkici ci*, "powers on earth," i.e. certain sacred groves, places, trees, rivers, animals, etc., etc., which have fetish power (answering pretty much to the Polynesian *mana*) inherent in them by nature; and (2) fetishes to which power has been communicated by certain ceremonies. Of the first class he says little in the present paper, but several items in his list of *nkici kici*, "personal protective charms" appear to belong to it. In the second class he distinguishes nail-fetishes from others, laying stress on the difference of the sources from which their several powers are supposed to be derived, on the differing methods by which the power is communicated to them, and by which they are invoked or consulted, and finally, on the contrasting occasions of their use. Mr.

¹[Mr. Dennett in some notes not yet printed speaks of a grove sacred to *Nyanibi Mpuku*. *Nzambi* or *Nyambi* is a name of deity; *Mpuku* is the rat (see below, p. 396). The *Nganga* referred to is apparently the priest of this grove. Every *Nganga* has his own method of divination. See N. W. Thomas, *Crystal-Gazing*, p. 56.]





CONSULTING MPUMBU.

Dennett, as will be seen, attaches great importance to this distinction. In the notes which follow he treats of fetishes for family, personal, and public use respectively. ED.]

1. *Bakici Bankondi.*

(Family Fetishes brought by the winds; known as *Zinkondi* in the Kongo.)

1. The MPUMBU are said to have been brought by the east wind (*Mabili*).

They are wooden figures of a man and a woman, standing about eighteen inches in height. When these figures have been carved it is necessary to enrol them among the *bakici*¹ of the Bavili. They must be set apart from common figures (*nkawei*), and dedicated to their sacred use as *nkici*. This is done by the *nganga* in the following way:

A small shed having been built, he encloses it with the fronds of the palm tree. He goes into the bush to gather the leaves of certain trees and herbs (which I do not know) to make the necessary medicines. He picks out a man from the family who shall act as the spokesman of the figure, and then proceeds to put the spirit into him² by pouring a decoction or infusion of the herbs he has gathered into his nostrils and eyes. The man thus treated then lies down upon an empty box within the shed, surrounded by the fronds of the palm tree, until the spirit enters his head. He gives evidence of this by beginning to shake violently, so that his body makes a noise on the box like the beating of a drum. He then gets up and tries to run away; but he is forced back into the hut until the attack has passed, when he is given the name of *Nguli Bwanga*.

The wooden figures are charged with the proper medicines, and as *Mpumbu* are then given into the custody

¹[*Bakici*, pl. of *Nkici*.]

²[Neither he nor the figures being *nkici ci*, *nkici* of the earth.]

of their spokesman, *Nguli Bwanga*.¹ And when *Nguli Bwanga* has received the *Mpumbu*, he buries medicines in the ground and plants a *Mbota*-tree.

When a native is sick and has gone through all the necessary formalities in connection with the rites of *Mpumbu*, rites in which the plant *Msakasaka* plays an important part, a pig is killed and its blood is poured over the wooden figures of *Mpumbu*, as if they were supposed to glory in that which the *Zifumu Zinkondi* abhor.²

Nguli Bwanga does not drive nails into the *Mpumbu*. He simply throws palm-kernels and dust at them, as he asks them to kill the hidden enemy who is secretly destroying the petitioner. And *Nguli Bwanga* causes the *Mpumbu* to kiss mother-earth as a sign that the petition is heard.³

MABILI as a *Nkici Nkondi* is found at the entrance of each village and sacred grove, even as it is found at the gates of the old kingdom of Loango on its eastern frontier. It takes the form of a string of grass and feathers stretched across a road from two stakes or uprights of *Nkala* wood planted on each side of it.⁴

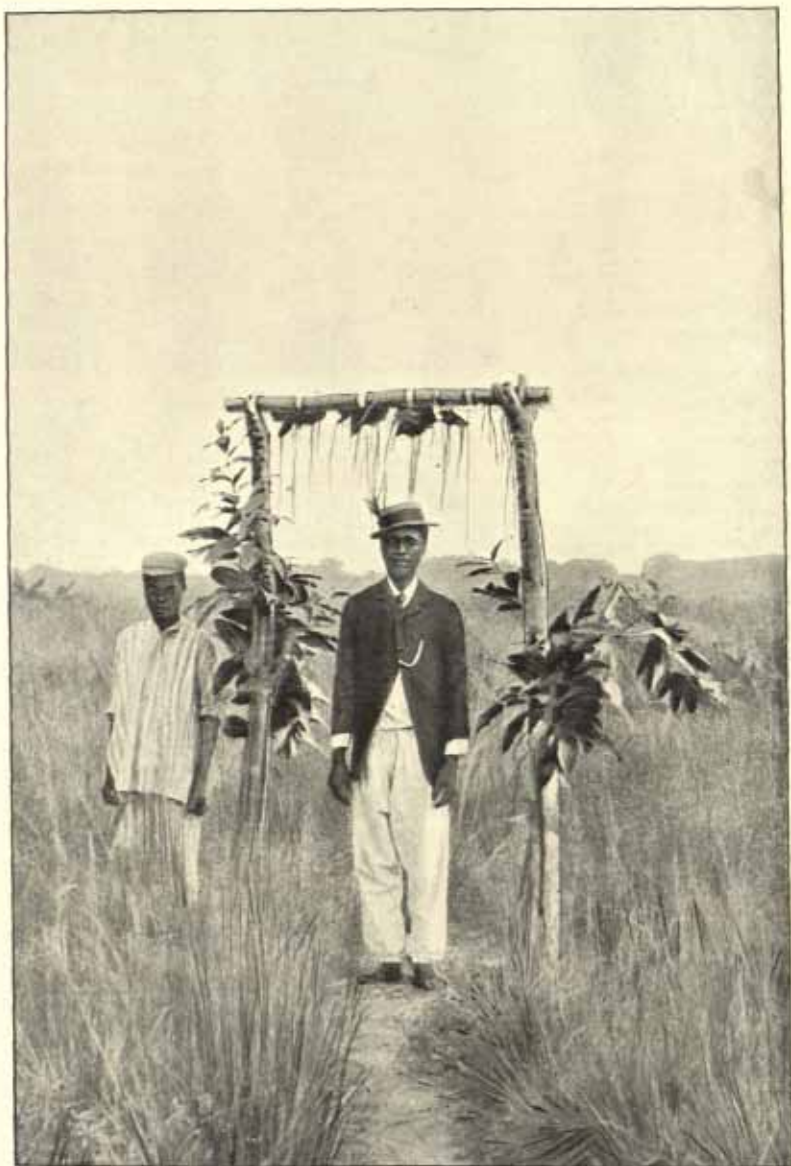
II. XIMBUKA (the first *Nkici* brought by the west wind) has the form of a round native basket made of the *Mfubu* leaves, and is used as the depository for the household remedies. Its guardian does not throw kernels at this basket, but he shakes a small gourd (filled with hard seeds that rattle) at it, as he requests it to cure one of the family, or to slay an enemy of the petitioner. It

¹ See *Death and Burial of the Efort* (F.-L., viii. 135). My cook Makawso was *Nguli Bwanga* of the *Mpumbu*.

² [Cf. p. 404, where the pig is said to be the *Xina* (tabued animal) of the *Fumu Zinkondi* (family chief)]. *Bakici Bankondi* are owned only by the heads of families who can trace their descent from kings.

³ See Plate XXVII. from photograph by R. E. D. The object inside the hut is a coffin containing a corpse prepared for burial.

⁴ See Plate XXVIII. from photograph by R. E. D.



MABILI.

To face p. 378.

has two guardians and voices that speak for it, *Nguli Bwanga*, a woman, and *Ngulu Bwite*, a man. They are not a married couple, and sexual relations are not permitted between them. The ceremony of putting the voices¹ into them is the same as that connected with *Mpumbu*; but each personage has a hut apart, in which he or she has to live two months.

NZACI is also a basket; and the same ceremonies are gone through in putting the voices into its guardians. Both take the name of *Suami* until the ceremony is over, when the woman takes a small fetish, *Nkutu* (a small bag) which she wears between her arm and body near the arm-pit, and becomes *Xicimbo*, while the man takes the name of *Xitembo*.

The above two Bakici are said to have been brought by Bunzi, the west wind.²

III. *Ngogo* and *Lembe* are said to have been brought by the south-west wind Ngonzolo.

NGOGO. In the analogous ceremonies connected with this basket, which is round and open like a coaling basket, the maiden only is placed in the hut. After this, which in this case is a marriage ceremony, both man and woman wear a certain kind of iron bracelet called *ngogo*. The maiden when first she enters the hut is called *Kayi's*³ wife, or *Nkaci Kayi*; afterwards she is known as *Nkaci Ngogo*.

LEMBE, the other fetish under the rule of the south-west wind, is a bracelet connected with a marriage-rite.

¹[From the synonymous use of the words "voice" and "spirit" in this connection, we take it that they represent the native word *Nkulu*.]

²Qwango, Ngoyo, Mbondo de Mboyo, Mpembe are *Zinkici Bankondi* (see illustration in *The Quiver*, xxxii. 619, *seq.*).

Makwani and Ximpungu are names of other figures of this class. Bisongi (like forks) are also known here (see illustration in *The Quiver*).

Lusawnzi and Nkutu are numbered 1 and 2 on p. 258, *Pioneering on the Congo*. Ndibu, *ib.*, p. 257.

³ *Kayi* is the name of the man.

The wife married in this way is called *Nkaci Lembe*, and is the one who acts as the guardian of all her husband's *Nkici*, and should she commit adultery, the husband upon opening the basket containing the medicines connected with the marriage would find them wet. *Nkaci Lembe* is kept very strictly within her hut and the fence (*lumbo*) surrounding it. *Lubuku*, a large kind of rat, is said by Tati to be *Xina* [tabu] to *Nkaci Lembe*.¹

NOTE.—*Binkawci Nkawci Bi Mwakunu* (the little figures that are apart, looking in different directions) are two figures on stakes driven into the ground which are said to turn round as the seasons follow one another. At the beginning of the rainy season one faces Kayi, the other the lake Luleba, that is, their backs are more or less turned to the sea. In the dry season they face different points of the sea.

2. Personal Charms or Fetishes.

The following are some of the principal *Nkicikici*, or personal protective charms—fetishes in the proper sense of the word *feitico*:

Ciba; a charm worn by women to ensure safety in child-birth, consisting of a horn of the little gazelle *sese*, filled with "medicines."

Tanta; a string bearing a strip of the skin of the *Xinkanda*, or sloth, tied tightly round the head, as a charm to protect the wearer from harm and pain. *Tanta* is also worn as a sign of mourning, and is then supposed to have the effect of helping the wearer to bear his troubles.

(The *sese* and *xinkanda* are two of the most difficult animals to catch, hence the charms are proportionately valuable.)

Nteo; a charm for a woman.

Nduda; a charm for a man (cf. *ante*, Note I., p. 375).

¹ Cf. Miss Kingsley's *West African Studies*, p. 193.

Betunga; a charm which women wear to guard the life of the baby yet unborn. It is made of a piece of the skin of the *Xicifumu*, a kind of sloth which is a very fast breeder.

Nzan; a charm which gives a man virility. It is made of the skin of the elephant.

Xikunda; a double rattle having fetish powers, carried by the *Badungu* or police society.

Mbumba; the copper bracelet worn by the *Nganga Mbumba*, who grants to those unfortunate in health a bracelet made of the fibre of the baobab tree, called *Sunga Mbumba* (not to be confounded with the iron bracelet or charm given by *Nganga Mbumba Xicimbu*).

Of the same class of charms are the bracelets (not marriage bracelets):

Ngofo, made of iron; in this case not a marriage bracelet.

Sunga Nsaci, made of plaited leaves of palm tree or cloth.

Sunga Ximbuka, " " " "

Sunga Mabili, " " " "

Sunga Xinbingo, " " " "

Nganga Mbumba Xicimbu is the full title of the *Nganga Mbumba*, or medicine-man attached to Maloango's court. He it is who accompanies and encourages the king-elect (or *Nganga Nvumba*) to proceed on his way to Buali, the capital. He tells him that he will overcome all his enemies, or that he has nothing to fear as he has no enemies, etc. He owns the fetishes *Xisongo* and *Xisika*.

Xisongo is a piece of iron to be found near Tero, buried in the ground near to the sacred ground. "Is it true," says the [enquiring] man "that I am to have no children?" as he tries to pull up this buried piece of iron. *Xisika* is a piece of heavy wood buried in the same way in different parts of the country for the same purpose, (i.e. divination).

A plain iron bracelet is given to patients by *Nganga Mbumba Xicimbu* and worn by them as a bracelet.

Marriage-Bracelets.—*Ngofu*, iron marriage-bracelet, originally ivory (*Luvose*) for real princesses.¹ *Ngofu* and *Funzi* are the Loango and Kakongo names for the same marriage rite and bracelet.

Lembe, a heavy copper marriage-bracelet common to Loango and Kakongo.

Xibutu Xilongo, a small copper bracelet connected with the medicine given by *Nganga Xibutu* to protect one from evil. When a man wearing this bracelet marries, his wife also takes and wears one as a charm, in sign of marriage.

3. *Zinkawci Zi Bakici* (not *Baci*.)

(The figures of the *people*; *Zinkici Mbowu*,² or Nail Fetishes.)

The Bavili divide all people into two great classes:

1. *Muntu Nzambi* (man of God).

2. *Muntu a Ndongo* (man of black arts). *Ndongo* signifies the evil spirit that is said to live in the stomach of all witches.

Now the *Zinganga nkici* (or the repeaters of the lore connected with the wooden images into which nails are driven) are not priests in the sense that the *Zinganga*

¹[Compare the following, from *A Visit to Lewanika, King of the Barotse*, by Reginald Arthur Such, late Captain Cape Boys' Corps. (Simpkin and Marshall, 1902.) The *Mogwae* or Queen of the Barotse, living at Nalolo on the Zambesi in 1900, "had on a light cotton gown which hung about her like a sack, and wore carved ivory ornaments in her thick hair, and ivory bangles on each arm, reaching from the wrist to above the elbow. Her husband had on only a *sesiba* and a coat, with one ivory bangle on each arm. Ivory is the sole property of the royal family, and only they are allowed to wear it" (p. 53). "The Queen is not the wife of the King, but his sister. The King's wives have no particular rank, and are mostly slaves" (p. 50). Facing p. 52 is a plate of "The Queen's state barge, with figure of an elephant on the roof of shelter."—ED.]

²[Spelt in former notes *mbao*.]

Bakici Baci (Ngangas of the sacred groves) are. The latter are *Bantu Nzambi*, the former, *Bantu a Ndongo*.¹ It will be seen from this that the religion of the Bavili is divided into two great divisions, and that the old Portuguese sailors and missionaries were most taken by the Ndongoistic pranks of the *Zinganga nkici*, and that they looked upon this part of the religion of the Kongo people as the whole. This error has been the cause of much misjudgment of the native religion, and is perhaps one of the causes of Miss Kingsley's taking Professor Tylor's definition of fetishism as serving to describe the complete religion of these people. As Professor Tylor says, fetishism is the doctrine of spirits embodied in or attached to, or conveying influence through, certain material objects; but this is not the whole of the religion of the Bavili. It is only the lower part; co-existent with which is the higher part connected with the kingly office and sacred trees, lands, rivers, animals, omens, and seasons.

Let me tell you how a nail-fetish is made, and describe some of the names and uses of fetishes of this class.

When a party enters the wood with the *Nganga* (or doctor) attached to the service of the fetishes (*Zinkici Mbowu*), into which nails are driven, for the purpose of cutting the *muamba* tree with the intention of making a fetish, no one may call another by his name. If he does so, that man will die, and his virtue will enter into the tree and become the presiding spirit of the fetish, when made; and the caller will of course have to answer with his life to the relations of the man whose life has been thus wantonly thrown away. So, generally speaking, a palaver is held, and it is there decided whose life it is that is to enter into the *muamba* tree, and to preside over the fetish to be made. A boy of great spirit, or else, above all, a great and daring hunter, is chosen. Then they go into the bush and

¹[*Zinganga*, pl. of *nganga*, priest. *Bantu*, people, pl. of *Muntu*, man.]

call his name. The *Nganga* cuts down the tree, and blood is said to gush forth. A fowl is killed and its blood mingled with the blood that they say comes from the tree. The person named then dies, certainly within ten days. His life has been sacrificed for what the *Zinganga* consider the welfare of the people. They say that the named one never fails to die; and they repudiate all idea of his being poisoned, or that his death is hurried on in any material way by the *Nganga*, who, they say, may be miles away. The difference between the spirit of *Mpumbu* brought by the East Wind, and the *Nkulu* of the known individual that is to preside over this fetish, is evident. And again, the nature of this fetish that is made by man and inspired by him is clearly different from the tree or grove that merely symbolizes some attribute of God or man.

People pass before these fetishes, *Zinkici Mbowu*, calling on the fetish to kill them if they do, or have done, such and such a thing. Others go to them and insist upon their killing so and so, who has done, or is about to do, them some fearful injury. And as they make their demand, a nail is driven into the fetish, and the palaver is settled so far as they are concerned. The *Nkulu* of the man whose life was sacrificed upon the cutting of the tree, sees to the rest.

These fetishes attended big palavers and were knocked¹ by the parties engaged, so that he who spoke falsely or bore false witness should die. These are the class of fetishes most in evidence, and as such are apparently the bitter enemies of European governments, who seem to take a delight in clearing the country of them. I wonder if they are right, at any rate before they have got the country properly in hand and can give the inhabitants that security they are so fond of talking about.

¹ See *Notes on the Laws and Customs of the Bavili* (Afr. Soc. Journal, 1902, p. 281).



NAIL-FETISH, (NKICI MBOWU).

(Exeter Museum.)

To face p. 385.

Brute force is no doubt a great power for a European power to wield over such a race as the Bantu, and will make them do much ; but is it not curious that civilized countries in the twentieth century should resort to so barbarous a form of governing a people supposed to be so much their moral inferiors ? And by taking away a fetish of this kind they do not prevent the native from making another one to take its place. It merely makes the native more cautious, and forces him to guard his fetish in some secret place outside the small sphere of influence of the official.

This class of *Nkici Mbowu*, the wooden figures into which nails are driven, are legion, and their multiplication comes, (1) from the desire of each district to have its own *Nkici*, and (2) from the importation from foreign districts of those who gained fame for their slaying powers or as deterrents. Thus in Loango we hear of Mangarka,¹ Mbiali Mundunbi, Ekawso,² Selo Xingululu, Mani mavungu, Fulula, Xiela, Mbwaka,³ all of whom are known to be imported from Kakongo. It has therefore been hard work to distinguish those which were originally consecrated to the use solely of this district. For some time I had sixteen on my list ; but I find that Maquarsia and Ngoio Kondi Mamba are not *Zinkici Mbowu*, so that I am left with the following fourteen ; whose names I give you under all reserve, as, after all, I may not have got at the true and original ones.

1. Mambili, a figure of a man with nails driven into it, now a wreck at Ximoko (see p. 391).

2. Mamboni Pwati, figure of a man.

3. Mambika, a figure of a man.

¹ Mangarka, see Manchester Museum. [Cf. *Man*, 1905, No. 59, pp. 102, 103.] Mani mavungu, see *Afr. Soc. Journal* (July 1903).

² Ekawso, see *Seven Years among the Fjori*, and specimens in Exeter Museum [presented by Mr. Dennett. Plate XXIX. See note, p. 406.]

³ Mbwaka, see Bentley, *Pioneering in the Congo*, p. 260.

4. Maleka,¹ a figure of a man.
5. Bixibula Xibula, a figure of a man, at Mpili.
6. Xilinga.
7. Lenga lenga, a man with a knife.
8. Zambi inyona.
9. Ngembe,¹ a figure of a man.
10. Mvumvu Xioxilo,¹ a figure of a dog.
11. Pansu muinda, a figure of a man.
12. Boka miemvu, a figure of a man.
13. Lu siemu, a figure of a dog.
14. Mavungu Mambuemo, a figure of a man.

THE STORY OF HOW XIDIELA EXPOSED THE WIZARDS.²

Xidiela was not well treated at home, and was finally told by his people that he was not worth anything, and had better go away and earn his living as best he could; they were tired of supporting him. This rather sobered Xidiela, and as he was already a bearded man, he knew he would have some difficulty in getting his living in a decent way, and he dreaded the thought of having to turn his hands to any hard work. He approached a rich man and offered him his services as "boy" or cook.

"You are too old," said the rich man.

"Never mind that, try me. I will do my best for you."

And so he was engaged to clean plates, cook food, and cut wood. He continued to clean plates, and cook food, and cut wood for a long, long time. During all this time sundry *Ngangas* kept on telling him that he was serving a *Muntu a Ndongo*, and Xidiela at last felt that there must be some truth in what he was told.

¹ These gentlemen are now in Europe.

² Xidiela means in Fjort a man who humbugs people. A native woman called Ngo told me the story.

"Every *Nganga* that comes here says the same thing. What am I to do? How can I get the better of him?"

He once more cooks his master's chop, and then goes to him and says:

"Senhor?"

"What?"

"I am a *ndongo*."

"No!" says his master.

"Yes, I am."

"Why, how do you know?" asks the master.

"Yes, I am a *ndongo*, but am ashamed, and take off my clothes only behind the *shimbec* (hut)."

"Never mind," says the master; "I am one, too, and perhaps after all you are one, for it is to-day that we are going to kill the prince of the country, and it is to-day that you tell me you are a *ndongo*. We will go together, but go to sleep and wait until the evening."

Xidiela sleeps, wakes early in the evening, and goes to his master and wakes him.

"You are no *ndongo*," says Xidiela, "or you would not sleep like this."

"Nay," says his master, "it is not time yet, you may sleep a little longer."

Xidiela goes to sleep again. Then they wake up and start for the meeting-place of the *Bantu a ndongo*. Xidiela goes ahead to show that he is not afraid. They come to a place where a great number of clothes and bracelets and leg-rings lie strewn about.

The master tells Xidiela to take off his clothes.

"No," says Xidiela, "when I do that people in town will dream that I am a *ndongo*; but when they see that I am dressed they will say, 'No, he cannot be a *ndongo* because he was dressed.'"

"Very well, then," says his master as he takes off his own clothes, "go as you are, but take care of the others."

Then they walk, and walk, and walk, until they arrive at a place where all the *ndoxi* or *Bantu a ndongo* were in the grass.

"Mamboma Xinkanda,"¹ says the old woman *Nfumu Ngo*² with sores (in her hammock) when she sees the boy; "Mamboma! Xidiela kalokaka mino mabola maka ku sungomina." (Mamboma! Xidiela is not a witch, he comes only to look on, as sure as I'm a *nganga* I divine it.)

And Mamboma replies: "Zibika munu aku anjea natanga mu xipoia." (Shut your mouth, it is because you are in a hammock that you say so.)

The old woman replies: "Maxi ku natua batu ku *anganga*." (It is not because I have a hammock, but because I am a *nganga* that I say this.)

Mamboma then says: "How could he enter here if he were not a *ndongo*? Give him a matchet² that he may dance."

They give him a matchet. Xidiela takes the matchet and dances away, and dances back again. And the young women are very pleased and cry out: "Tuala ntulu!" (return here!).

¹ I have heard a little story of the *Xinkanda* (lemur). This little animal is looked upon to-day as the *Mamboma* (Vizier, prime minister) of the princely *Ngo* (leopard), and was elected a prince of Loango in the following manner:

Ngondo (a long-tailed monkey) was very proud of the power his tail gave him in his hurried movements here and there, and upon this power he laid claim to the chief office in Loango, *i.e.* that of Mamboma. Now the Xinkanda objected to this claim on the part of the Ngondo. The Xinkanda is a close-fisted little animal, and the Bavili say sticks hard to anything he clings to. They say it takes hours to get anything out of its hands once they are closed on any object. The Xinkanda is said to have made some bitter remarks about the Ngondo and his tail, and challenged him to call a meeting of all the animals to get at the general opinion of their world upon their merits. At this meeting the slow-moving but sure Xinkanda was unanimously elected Mamboma.

² See pp. 390, 391.

³ A kind of cutlass.

And Xidiela goes to them and returns twice; but the third time he runs away, taking the matchet with him. And the old woman with the sores cries out from her hammock to Mamboma: "You now see that I was right."

They all waited, and then exclaimed, "She is right."

They set upon Xidiela's master and thrashed him (and they did not kill the prince). They then knocked their fetish, crying out to Xidiela's master: "You brought the boy here. If you come back here you will die."

And Xidiela gathered up all the clothes and bracelets and leg-rings, and took them to his home. He made a fire outside his *shimbec* and waited for his master, but he did not sleep. The *Zindoxi* or *Bantu a ndongo* searched for their clothes, and thrashed the master again when they could not be found, and then they departed to their towns, dispersing in different directions.

And next day Xidiela remarked to all about him: "How is it that so many are wearing clean clothes to-day?"

And the master called Xidiela aside, and whispered to him that the *Zindoxi* had thrashed him.

"Who dared to thrash you?" shouted Xidiela.

"Don't shout," cried the master.

"Why?" shouted Xidiela.

"If you are a witch, why do you act like this and get me thrashed?"

"I went simply to humbug you," replied Xidiela.

And each *ndoxi* brought fifty longs (300 yards) of cloth, or sheep, or presents, to get their clothes from Xidiela and to bribe him to say nothing about the affair. Thus he became very rich, and went back to his town and built a nice *shimbec*, and looked down upon his poorer relations.

Some time afterwards he went back to see his master

in a hammock. His master called him *ndoxi*, and dared him to take *nkasa*.¹

"Let us take it together," said Xidiela. And they both went far away, where they were not known, and took the bark, and the master died and Xidiela escaped.

The above, of course, is merely a story; the following, however, occurred not so long ago, which proves how near fiction is to fact (in the Bavili's mind).

Buite had been out fishing, and on his way home met the drunkard Mavungu, who asked him for some fish. Buite refused to give it, and Mavungu threatened to "do for him." Buite fell sick and died. Mavungu took *nkasa* and died. And it then turned out that the drunkard Mavungu had gone to his town in a rage and told his brother, who was also no friend of Buite's, that the latter had refused to give him fish. So they sought out one or two other *Zindoxi*, and they had determined to kill Buite. Buite falling sick called in an *Nganga*, who divined that he was bewitched, and that nothing could save him. When Buite died, Mavungu, who had thus been heard to threaten Buite, was accused of having been the cause of his death, and had to take *nkasa*, and died.

The Bavili say that supposing that Mavungu's brother had refused to join him in wishing the death of Buite, but on the contrary had said: "No! Buite is not a bad fellow, and I do not wish him to die," Buite might have fallen sick, but would have soon got better.

XINA (PROHIBITION).

These may be divided into nine classes.

1st class.—*Ngo*, the leopard, is the *Xina* of the people of Kongo (including the provinces south of the Kongo as well as Kakongo and Loango), and as such it is

¹ The well-known ordeal draught.

Nkicici.¹ It is the only animal having the title of *Fumu* [chief]. Its skin is used as a charm against smallpox, and the *Mankaka's* (captain, executioner) hat of office is also made of it.

In 1902 the writer was standing near to his house when a crowd of natives passed him carrying the body of a dead leopard to Loango for sale. The head of the beast was covered with a cloth so that its eyes should not be seen. And a lady called Ngo, who was standing near to him, began to cry.

"Why do you cry?" the writer asked. "Ah," she answered, "the brutes would not have treated my name-sake in this rough way in the olden days with impunity."²

That the leopard is connected with witchcraft is certain, even if the words "*Ndongo*" and "*Ndoxi*" did not so clearly point to the fact, for we were warned by Mambuku³ at Ximoko that someone with *Ndongo* in his

¹[*i.e.* of the first class of Nkici, having inherent fetish power.]

²In *Seven Years among the Fjort* I gave part of the custom attending the killing of Ngo, and in *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort* I (p. 80) supplemented this. Many of the stories there also throw some light on the character of this animal. The skins of the leopard are sent to Bunzi when rain is wanted by the king for his people. See "Laws of the Bavili," *African Society's Journal*, 1902, p. 281.

³*Extract from my Journal of an expedition in search of a Nkasa tree.*—"While at my frugal meal, outside his hut, Mambuku, who had been squatting on the ground near to me, got up and left me. I lit a cigarette, and walked up and down in the moonlight by the side of the bananas Mambuku had planted as a kind of fence around the cleared space within which his dwellings and outhouses were built. At last I retired to rest upon the bed of boards prepared for me, but just as I was falling to sleep the midnight silence was suddenly broken by a shout. I recognized the voice of Mambuku immediately, and thought at first that he must have met with some accident. Another grunt-like shout, and I knew that Mambuku was simply calling the attention of his people to something he had to say to them. And this is what he said:

"'Ur! ur!' (to wake his people up).

"'Nuvula!' (listen!)

"'Ngonde moci u bakana kubella mukulu, abu mimibakana ku bella mu luzala.' (Last month my mother had a bad leg, now she is sick in

stomach had willed the leopard to come to the town, or someone in that very town, perhaps, was ready to use the leopard as a means of destroying his neighbour's life. And someone also with evil thoughts was causing the speaker's mother to keep on suffering.

The Bavili fully believe that certain *Bantu a Ndongo* have this power over leopards and crocodiles, and that others who have not the power themselves, knowing their brother *Ndongo*, ask him the favour of the loan of the wer-beast. The *Muntu a Ndongo* or wizard, as you perhaps would call him, does not in this case change himself into the leopard or the crocodile, for he may be talking to you in one place while the beast is doing his will in another. Neither need he die first, so that what some people like to call his "soul" may enter and possess the animal.

The man who has *Ndongo* in his stomach will search out an *Nganga*, or doctor, who has the medicine *Xikumbu*

her finger.) 'Manwela Ngoma! Manwela Ngoma! Anjea unkruntu u kela ku ngandu.' (Manwela Ngoma! you are head man of the village.) 'Mani Ngombo! Anjea uzabici ma awso.' (Mani Ngombo (the name of his suffering mother), you know all about it.) 'Bene Bawso! Nu keba mbizi Xikumbu una untambala befi inu manga 'ntu ntese.' (All of you! Beware that when the leopard comes you don't receive him, as we shall divine who he may be.) 'Beno! Mundela naka kunxitula lau!' (All of you! The white man is sleeping in town, and if I make a noise he will think me a fool.)

"There was a pause and a great silence; then Manwela Ngoma from his corner of the village replied:

"Minu unkruntu, anjea veka Mani Puati, anjea veka bakaci libamba liaku, anjea veka ubakamba, minu Bawso i bakambila baci kumpe, nsamu au ba veka.' (I am the head man, you yourself are *Mani Puati*, [Mani=Prince] you own us all, you have called upon me, I called upon all, they do not hear, it is their palaver.)

"Then came another pause; after which up spoke the sick mother, Mani Ngombo.

"Bobo ntubila xibene xiaku tata, ntuba minu muntu yaka kalilanga enxenzo mu litu.' (The father has just now told the truth, I tell you that I keep on suffering pain in my body.)"

Ximanpandu (what this is I do not know) and ask him to sell him some. The *Nganga* will ask him if he is really desirous to obtain it, and the *Muntu a Ndongo* answers yes. The *Nganga* sells him the medicine. The *Muntu a Ndongo* says he cannot see the leopard or crocodile. Then the *Nganga* takes the medicine and gives the *Muntu a Ndongo* some, and rubs some into his eyes, and asks him if he can now see the leopard.

The *Muntu a Ndongo* answers yes, and goes his way conscious that he owns a leopard or crocodile to do his will.

All leopards do not lend themselves to these horrible practices, and such as do not are said to belong to the *Bakici Baci*, or the "powers" on earth (see page 376).

Since my visit to Ximoko I have noted the following cases of the ravages said to have been worked by the wicked class of leopards.

1. Xikawmo is a man who has lived with white men all his life, can read and write, and wears European clothes. He was with his master in Somboa, quite near to Loango, and it was here that the following sad event occurred. Three boys, one of them the son of Xikawmo, were sleeping in an outhouse serving as a kitchen. One night a leopard entered this place, and passing over one of the boys, deliberately attacked and killed the son of Xikawmo, only wounding the boy nearest the door in his flight.

Xikawmo went to Maloango,¹ and after relating the whole affair to him said, "How is this? I want to know who had this leopard." Then they set the *Ngangas* to work, and it was divined that it was a man of the village of Ntanda Bilala who owned this particular leopard. Then Xikawmo said, "Very well; now I want to know who *ate the flesh* of this man of Bilala," for if one of his

¹ The native king.

boy's family had not eaten the flesh¹ of the Bilala man, Xikawmo reasoned that it was impossible that the Bilala man should have sent the leopard to "chop" his son. And here this palaver rests for the time being.

2. The wife of Xikāia was in her house sleeping with another woman, when a leopard burst open the door, passed over the other woman, and carrying Xikāia's wife away, ate her up, leaving only her head. Xikāia called in the *Zinganga*, and they divined that Maxienzi was the owner of that leopard. So Xikāia went to Maxienzi's town and destroyed his house and plantations, and then went to Maloango to complain about Maxienzi. Maloango arrested Maxienzi, and advised him to take *Nkasa* at once. Maxienzi said, "Let us first hold a palaver."

In the palaver it was proved that Maxienzi had asked the acknowledged owner of the leopard to lend it to him. Maxienzi protested, and declared that in this case he was innocent. Maloango then said that no one would believe him under the circumstances, and that the decision was in the hands of God, not his. Let him take *nkasa*. Maxienzi went to Mambuku's town and demanded to be given the *nkasa*. It was given to him, and he vomited, thus proving that he was innocent.

Xikāia and his people, however, said that Maxienzi used his knowledge as a *muntu a ndongo* to avoid the proper and just effects of the *nkasa*. Xikāia and his other wife and family then left their town and went to live in Mayomba, or bush-country.

3. A poor old man and his little grandchildren went into the woods to cut the fronds of the bamboo palm (*ntombe*), from the leaves of which he meant to make thatch to cover his house. Having finished their work, they picked up their bundles and were about to start

¹ *Eaten his flesh*, i.e. done him an injury, perhaps by sending a leopard to kill someone of his family.

homewards, when a leopard sprang out of the bush upon the old man. The children cried out, not being able to run away. The leopard left the old man, and the party then took up their burdens and ran away in the direction of their village. At last the old man threw his bundle of leaves into the grass, and said he could go no further, he would rest and then come home. Shortly after he had stopped the leopard set upon him again. The little ones saw it, shouted to it to go away, and then ran home as fast as they could. The people of the village set out to look for the old man, but only found his head. How this palaver was settled I do not know.

These four cases in this district then have come to my knowledge within six months, and I give you the facts as related to me, and therefore with their native colouring, and as they are looked upon by disinterested native third parties.

Now to continue the first class of *Bina* (plural of *Xina*):

Mesu Mazenzi Mavili Matuninini say the Bavili for a crooked palaver in which one is [yet] able to see the truth. "You can cook the grasshopper (or cricket) but its eyes remain," or, in other words, "The truth will out." *Mesu* (the cricket) is the *Xina* of Sonio. *Zombo* (*Bawci* or *Boci*) (the eel) is, on the other hand, the *Xina* (sacred animal) of Kakongo. An old lady is said to have been on a journey in Kakongo, behind a place called Futila. She carried a child on her back, and asked some women who were planting in the fields for water. The women said that they only had enough for themselves and that water had to be brought from a long distance. The lady eventually got a drink of palm-wine from a young man who was tapping a palm-tree. She rewarded the young man and punished the women for their want of motherly instinct by turning the field they had been in into a lake (*Bawci*), the fish of which is *Xina* to the women of Ntumpu to this day.

Mpakasa Awci, the wild ox or buffalo (that listens and hears), is the sacred animal of the province of Loango, namely, what is called the *Xina xi Bika muana bukulu*. When Maloango¹ first came from Kongo he brought this *Xina*, Mpakasa Awci, which is *Nkicici*, with him. He is said to have asked some men for water and they refused to give it to him, hence he made the flesh of the Mpakasa *Xina Bukulu* to their family. These four, then, the leopard, the cricket, the eel, and the ox, are the *Xina* of the whole tribe of Kongo and the three sub-tribes composing it, and the three latter are not only the sacred animals of the sub-tribes but also the forbidden food of certain families in those sub-tribes.

2nd Class of Bina. Each province under the rule of its *Fumu* [head-man, chief, judge] has two *Xina*, for instance, in the case of the province of Xibanga, the *Susu* or fowl and the *Sexi* or Sesse, or gazelle [are the *Xina*]: these are called *Xina Fumuci*.

3rd Class. Then each district under its *Kongo Zovo* has its *Xina*, as [for example] in the chief district of the above province the *Nziku* (chimpanzee). This kind of *Xina* is called *Xina Xici*, and, if I am not mistaken, will be the sacred animal of the sacred grove of the district. Thus *Mpuku*, the rat, is *Xina Xici* of a family as well as [being] the animal connected with the grove *Mpuku Nyambi* as an omen.

¹ Tradition says that Kakongo and Loango were founded by two sons of a former King of Kongo, who gave their own names to the two provinces (See *Folklore of the Fjort*, p. 1). The route of Maloango and Kakongo from San Salvador to Loango is marked out by the ground where they rested becoming *xinkici a 'nci*, i.e. sacred ground. There are no altars made with tools, but as you wander through the woods you will at certain places come across a mound of earth and leaves. And as your servants pass this mound they will add their tribute to it. They say these mounds are marks which divide the frontiers (*ndilu*) of two provinces, and that in passing them they pick up earth and leaves and heap them up, so that they may not be accused, as they say, of bringing anything evil into the next prince's country. These mounds are called *Lombi*.

4th Class. Each person living under his Kongo Zovo (head of district), with any pretensions to birth, should have four *Bina*.

The *Xina* of each of his grandparents is *Xina Xixin-kaka*.¹

Xixitata, the *Xina* of his father.

Xixifumba, the *Xina* of his mother.

In connection with this class it is astonishing how few can trace their pedigrees back to their grandparents. Take, for instance, the following examples.²

Tati of Benguela says his father's *Xina* was *Ngulubu*, the pig; his mother's, *Ngwali*, the partridge; and that he is of the family of *Nziku*, the chimpanzee. His grandparents were [both ?] of one *Xibila* or sacred grove, *i.e.* that which had *Nziku* as its *Xina*.

Bayona of Ntumpu:

Father	Kabi	Antelope.
Mother	Nziku	Chimpanzee.
Grandparents	{ Ngulubu	Pig.
	{ Nyundu Xibanga	Otter.

Engo of Futila (Kakongo):

Father	Kabi	Antelope.
Mother	Ngwali	Partridge.
Grandparents	Ngulubu	Pig.

Makamba of Xilendi Nkombi:

Father	Nkombo	Goat.
Mother	a slave brought from the interior.	

Sungu of Xienji:

Father	Nkombo	Goat.
Mother	Mpakasa	Buffalo.

Luiiz:

Father	Ngwali	Partridge.
Mother	he does not know.	

¹ I do not know whether this refers to grandfathers or grandmothers.

² [There appears to be some confusion in the statements made to Mr. Dennett: no intelligible rule can be extracted from the examples.—N. W. T.]

For instance: *Ngo* is the *Fumu* from whom they are all descended; *Mpakasa* shows that they are Bavili; *Susu* and *Sexi*, of the province *Xibanga*. Then in the case of *Bayona*, *Ngulubu* and *Nyundu Xibanga* show the districts of his grandparents, while his father's *Xina* is *Kabi* and his mother's *Nziku*. Through his mother he is related to *Tati*, whose grandparents had this animal (*Nziku*) as their *Xina*.

5th Class. Certain offices or situations carry certain *Xina* with them. The office of *Fumu Zinkondi* or *Zinkata*, the pig, *Ngulubu*¹; the office of *Badungu*, the *Nziku*; the office of *Nganga Mpunsi*, food cooked by an unmarried woman. This class is called *Xina Xisalu*.

6th Class. Each *Xibila* [sacred grove] has its *Xina* (tabu). *Bunzi* hates unmarried women; *Xikumbi* (a maiden) is therefore its *Xina*. *Xikanga* and *Nxiluka* hate a noise; the goat (*Nkombo*) is their *Xina*. This class is called *Xina Xinkicici*.

7th Class. When natives are sick and are undergoing treatment certain foods are *Xina*, and as often as not the patient is ordered henceforth not to allow a companion to eat certain flesh together with him. This is called *Xina Xibilongo* (medicine-tabu).

8th Class. Certain household fetishes, bracelets, etc., carry with their ownership certain restrictions as to food. The wearer of the *Ngofu* bracelet may not eat the fish *Mpuli* with another person; he may not kill and eat an animal on the same day. This is *Xina Bakici*.

9th Class.—Now parts of some animals are found in the sacred groves. This summed-up class is called *Xina Xibifumba*.² These *Bina* of the Bavili are as follows:

The skin of the leopard only finds its way into a *Xibila* as part of the dress of the individual. Neither

¹ [See *ante*, p. 378, n. 2.]

² The objects enumerated under this head are found in all properly-furnished *Bibila* in Loango.


the eel nor the cricket are found there, but the *Mpakasa* is (in Loango) the greatest of the symbols entering there, and so we will commence with it.

The wild ox in the stories of the Bavili is generally found acting as the servant or ambassador of either the leopard or some princely animal. As often as not it is sacrificed while in the discharge of some duty. Thus when Nzambi sent him for the wagtail's drum he was killed by the followers of that bird (*Folklore of the Fjort*, p. 125).

The wild ox is always on the alert for the slightest noise, it is peculiarly sensitive to sound. The horns and head of this animal are found in the Bibila.

The tail of the ox called *Mawso* is the sign of office of all the *Kongozovo* (district-chiefs) among the Bavili.

Bafu, the saw-fish, the snout of which the *Badungu* carry as their sign of office. This snout is found in the Bibila (plural of Xibila).

Nkaka, a kind of crocodile (distinct from the *Ngandu* or crocodile in the Kongo). This reptile is eaten by Bakuni or woodmen of the Mayomba district to the east of Maloango's composite kingdom. It digs out its home underground in the banks of rivers. The hole is of the shape of the letter , and great danger is encountered by the Bakuni in hunting and killing it. The hunter by lighting a fire at the entrance (1) drives the reptile into the bend (2, 3). He then carries stones into the hole and blocks up entrance No. 2, and lights another fire at the entrance No. 3, and so suffocates his prey. Should the hunter venture beyond No. 2 without having blocked it up, the *Nkaka* is apt to slip through it and block up the main entrance with his body, so that the hunter becomes captive and certain prey. One of the scales (*maku*) of this reptile is to be found in the Bibila.

Beci is what the Portuguese call silver fish. It causes

great havoc with the fishing nets, as it is a great struggler. The saying *Kubela Nkanu*, to lose right in a palaver, is connected with it. Its scales are found in the Xibila.

Susu, the fowl. White fowls are used as offerings by those going to a *Xibila* to ask a favour. A fowl is generally found tied by a string to a peg in the ground in front of a sick man whom the *Nganga* is trying to cure. It is a sign of good faith, and is supposed to die if the *Nganga* in the presence of his fetish does not act fairly. It is killed, and its blood used in certain medicines (*Ximenga*). They call it *Mafuka* (messenger) among the animals, and there is a saying *Muana Susu Kulemba Kuciata Kulala Nzala*. (The young of the fowl goes to sleep hungry if its mother does not scratch for food for it.) Its feathers are found in the Bibila.

Ngwali or *Ngumbi* or *Xilawlolo*=the partridge. The story goes that a Mr. Partridge fell in love with a Mrs. Fowl, and went home with her, but passed a very wretched night in the coop owing to his fear of Mr. Fowl, and to the fact that the owner of the village gave loud orders at midnight to his people to kill a fowl in the morning before letting the fowls out, as he expected some friends the next day. The partridge got away. It is the bird that is killed by sons for their mothers when their husbands have neglected them for strange women. The head and feet of this bird are found in the Bibila.

Makunkula, the cockle-shells, that, together with the oyster-shells, the people of Mamboma cast at the people of Buali who have carried the coffin of Ntawtela (the dead king) as far as the *numbu* tree.¹ A mound of these shells is found in the Bibila.

¹ It is the duty of Mamboma to carry out the burial rites of a defunct king and the election of his successor. The inhabitants of the capital must carry the corpse as far as a certain tree, where the burying-party take charge of it, and forcibly drive away their predecessors.

Maili, oysters. The saying *Yau Misamu Yi Mati Maili* gives us to understand that the palaver to be talked out is no small matter, and that it is as hard as an oyster to open. A mound of these shells is found in the Bibila.

Mboma, the boa-constrictor. Its skin is found in the Bibila.

Tele, the whale. Its vertebræ (*Kala Kala Mbusa*) are in the Bibila, and are said to point out that people come there from all parts. *Tele Nsamu* is to open a palaver.

Nkombo, the goat. When a member of a village has committed some crime worthy of death, a town's meeting is called, and if there be one dissenting voice against his being put to death, his family supply a goat in his place. This is killed, and every member of the community must eat a little of it. This custom is called *Muntu Fundu Nkombo Fundu*. Thus both the goats and the fowl are *Ximenga*. The goat's skin is used in the Bibila to sit upon instead of the usual grass mat. It is looked upon as noisy and lascivious.

Sungu is a large antelope; and the saying is that the Sungu always feeds on the tops of hills, and is therefore always ready to catch sight of his enemy (*Sungu Mbakala Muntu Ke Kulila Mu Binanga*). To look out becomes a habit of mind (*Sunga*) with it. Its head and horns are in the Bibila.

Nsau, the elephant. The chief of all the world, the great giver of food (*kulawombo ndundu ku miteka*), for when it is killed people come with matets (baskets) and seem to be for ever coming and carrying its flesh away; and the story goes that it was led from Kakongo by a single string of piassava (*nkawxi ba kawkila nsau mu luvusu*). *Nsau* is a pet name given to little babies. The hairs of its tail are found in the Bibila round the necks of people.

Mpili, the spitting viper. This snake is said to object

very much to noise, or to being disturbed in any way. The people of the town of Mpili hold this viper in great respect and will not allow the grass around the town to be burnt for fear of disturbing it. Its skin is found in the Bibila.

Nkala (*Vuma Xivanji Mania* in full), the crab. *Kufwa nkala xifundu mizi* (the claws of the crab nip even after it is dead). After having held their breath with fright, the danger being over, the Bavili give vent to a sigh or groan of relief. This action they call *ku vumina*. But the impression of fear remains, and the above saying is applied to it. The crab *Nkala*, the sea, and the sun, are opposed to the leopard *Ngo*, the earth, and the moon. Thus *nkala ngo* come to mean the yes and no of a question, the Roe and Doe of the British law courts. The claws of the crab are found in the basket of *bilongo* (medicine) in the Bibila.

Nquimbike ku vuka, the shark that devours. (The word *quimbuka* is to fear, relating to that cringing fear caused by a guilty conscience). The *kubu*, or fin, of the shark is found in the basket of *bilongo* in the Bibila.

Nkufu, the turtle. *Nkufi* means short in stature. *Nuni nkufu u i natina muansa*, the husband-turtle who carries the roof (of his *shimbec*) on his back. This animal has a very bad character; he is noted for his treachery and deceit, taking a mean advantage over those he has promised to reward. For instance, "he" is said to have made a trading compact with a man. They formed two traps to catch game. He chose the best one. The man agreed, as they were partners, and he said it did not matter where the game was trapped as it would be shared between them. An antelope was caught by the turtle's trap. Instead of calling his partner to share the spoil he engaged the ox to carry it to his town, promising him a share for his trouble. When the antelope had been cut up he sent the ox away to clean the plates, etc. Then

he hid away the food in his strong shimbec. When the ox came back the meat could not be found, and he was much annoyed. He resolved to destroy the turtle's trap. Unfortunately he was caught in it. The turtle then called the leopard to help him, and played the same dirty trick upon him. The leopard swore vengeance and went to the trap and so arranged it that it appeared that he also is caught in it. The turtle came along and gloated over his friend's apparent misery, but when he put his head out of his shell to have a look and smell at his victim, the leopard snapped it off. The leopard then went to the turtle's town and ate up all the food there, and then told the partner what he had done. The man recognized that the turtle deserved his fate. The shell of the turtle is found in the Bibila.

Nbubu (or *Nguvu*), the hippopotamus; *u nlila ngolo*, the hippopotamus that eats very much. The word *vuba* is to take altogether too much for one's self. There are many amphibious animals, but only four of which these words are used, *nxelo ku bakoko nsakuso ku via mbazu*, as a protection for the mouth of his bellows the blacksmith places an earthenware nozzle over it (so must men protect themselves against the fires which burn *Zindoxi*). These four are *Kimbolo*, the Nile crocodile, *Ngandu*, the Indian crocodile (another way of calling a man a witch), *Bambi*, the monitor lizard, and the *Nguvu* or *Nbuvu*. The head of the hippopotamus is found in the Bibila.

Mbambi Ngombi, the monitor lizard. They say that this lizard came along a road carrying a long basket or *matet* of salt. He noticed the little cricket *Nkawla* resting in the leaf of the *Licisa* (string-plant). "Get off that tree," says the *Mbambi*, "and allow me to rest this load of mine against its trunk." "Why," answered the *Nkawla* "use such a false picture to deceive me? You know that this is not a tree, and you know that you simply wish to kill and eat me. I am here, kill me!" And the

Mbambi snapped at the *Nkawla* and devoured it. The skin of this lizard is found in the basket of *bilongo* in the Bibila.

Nkabi, the saddleback antelope: *ku kabika ncitu muntu li monio ku kabika buala buandi kutunga* (as) the antelope leaves the woods to die (so) when the man leaves his town stockade he also dies. The word *kaba* is to divide. The horns of this antelope form the symbol of the parting of the ways, signifying, "We are all from one stock and agree together along one road until we come to the parting of the ways." The horns are found in the Bibila.

Nsexi (*Seci* or *Saci*) a kind of gazelle that is also known by the name *Kinkuba* (an axe) and *Kimpiti* (half a matchet). What a beautiful yet deceitful and undutiful animal this is, is well shown in the stories Nos. 4 and 19 in *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort*. Its head and horns are found in the Bibila.

Nvuli (the water-buck). Its head and horns are found in the Bibila.

Ngulubu, the pig. *Ngulubu Ngulu Mbakala ke ku mana Mayaka*, it is the pig that steals the manioc (in the market). After certain palavers, certain household fetishes like *Mpumbu* are washed in the blood of the pig. Its dried blood also enters into many *bilongo*. It is the head of the pig that enters the Bibila.

Xingolo Xinyundu the otter. *Xingolo xin yunda, Xibango Ngola Maci*. This saying is a figurative way of implying that the wife should satisfy the desire of her husband. The skin of the otter is used in the place of the proverbial fig-leaf as a sporran. All princes in their visits to the Bibila wear this skin.¹

¹ There are two kinds of skins worn in this way by the Fjort; *nkanda ndeci* a wild cat skin, and *xingoli xinyundu*, the otter skin. Those who wear these skins are considered to-day very decent people, but there is one thing about them that one must always bear in mind, and that is, when you take them off don't pull them downwards, but take care to pull them upwards between the belt and the cloth; otherwise you will have no children.

There are five kinds of fish forming the class *Mbizi Xibala*, the spikes of which enter into *bilongo*, they are *Xiendo*, *Mpudi*, *Nkoko*, *Ngola*, and *Xibuela*. *Mpudi* and *Ngola* are the cat-fish, the others rays.

Nziku the chimpanzee. *Nziku Nkondo*, as the saying goes, "Be careful how you choose your friends." *Nzika ke ku zika mina muntu*, "an apparently friendly man may get one into a big palaver." *Nziku* is the *Xina* of mankind generally. It is not only that there is a certain resemblance between man and the chimpanzee in their outward form but they have many habits in common. It carries its young on its back and walks about the woods upon its hind legs with the help of a stick. It fights with a stick. But above all it is very gallant and treats its pregnant wife with the greatest respect, running away from her when she is annoyed instead of beating her. Unlike other animals it is never caught in the act of copulation. But in spite of all this the Bavili say that man must not be led to believe that the chimpanzee is an animal that he can make a real friend of. Its skin is found in the *Bibila*.

It is said that the King, Maloango, has no *Xina*, but as *Fumu* his *Xina* is pig, and he must have his family *Bina* also.

When a person wishes to refuse a request he has simply to mention his *Xina*. Thus supposing his *Xina* to be *Ngwali*, the person says *Ngwali*: the words *Minu i Ciabakoko* (I have it not) being understood. The word *Kasila* (no road) is often used for the word *Xina*.

We may now I think conclude that this remarkable word *Xina* means a law, a thing forbidden, an abomination.

R. E. DENNETT.

Postscript.—There is a class of people called *Mavumbu* (*Vumba*, to leak) living in different districts of *Kakongo*

and just in the southern borders of Loango who are not allowed to eat out of the same dish as the Bavili, or people of Kakongo. Should one ask for food he must tell the people that he is Mavumbu, but as it is a great disgrace to admit this, such a one seldom does ask another for it. I know one or two very rich and important men in the country, whose names I will not mention, who are Mavumbu. But where these people came from I cannot find out, neither can I make out why they should be so cursed.¹

¹Father T. Deronet informs me that the tribe the Bavili call Bakutu call themselves Bavumbu or Bahumbu, and that their greatest fetish (*tic*) is Ngo. Can these people be the family or tribe from which the Mavumbu have descended?

My linguist, Bayona, who has lived among these people, adds that when the father or prince of the tribe dies, his head (Father Deronet says his hands also) is allowed to remain in the water until all the flesh comes away from it, when it is kept in a hut apart, and carried with the family should it remove to some other part. His penis is also cut off and smoked and then worn as a charm by his first wife's eldest son.

[Plate XXIX. (p. 385), represents a Nail-fetish, one of several figures presented to the Exeter Museum by Mr. Dennett. It is two feet in height, carved from a single block of wood, with looking-glass eyes. It is painted red round the eyes, and wears a sackcloth muffler and a headdress of blue-green feathers. The charm-box in the stomach has been broken and many of the nails are gone, leaving holes only. We have to thank Mr. F. R. Rowley, F.R.M.S. (Curator), for the photograph, and Mr. Edwin Hollis for these particulars.—Ed.]

THE LEGEND OF MERLIN.

BY M. GASTER.

(Read at Meeting, 20th June, 1905.)

ONE of the central figures in the Arthurian cycle is that of the uncanny prophet and magician Merlin. His whole history is surrounded with so much mystery, and so many inexplicable incidents are interwoven in the relation of his birth and his further activity that they have baffled the ingenuity of many a scholar. I now endeavour to make a contribution towards the elucidation of some of the most prominent features of the romance. We must not forget that we are dealing with a written and not with an oral literature. The individuality of the author is more pronounced and the personal equation much easier to determine than in the anonymous remnants which have been retained by the memory of the folk. Each poem is a literary monument which must be critically examined, in the same way as we are now examining and dissecting every other literary remains of ancient times.

And here the personality of the author ought to occupy the first place. I may not have seen all that has been written on these mediæval romances, but as far as I know there is nowhere a critical study of the personality of their authors. We do not find any clear description of their lives and learning, of the circumstances under which they wrote, the influences to which they were

exposed and the range of knowledge at their disposal. What did they know and how did they know the things of the past, and what kind of knowledge was popular (*i.e.* acceptable to their readers and listeners)? The atmosphere of a society colours every product and moulds, consciously or unconsciously, the mental activity of the bard and of the poet.

Two or three points deserve our close attention. In the first place, what was the occupation of the authors, especially the authors of the prose romances which we may assume precede every romantic poem? (For the story is first written down, and afterwards taken up by the *trouvère* and versified, as it is to be sung before the barons at the festive board and later on, when it has become a popular tale or a shorter ballad, among the lower bourgeoisie.) The art of writing was in that early period known to but few. The little knowledge which the Middle Ages possessed was almost a monopoly of the clergy. The clerk, as the name denotes, was in most cases a *cleric*. The historiographers and chroniclers were as a rule monks and priests, and they wrote as often as not for the special edification of those readers and for the praise and honour of those places, with which they stood in close contact. Every clever writer would enhance and extol the virtues of his special saint and of the church devoted to the memory of that saint. His miracles would be retailed to a believing and loving public almost to the exclusion of any other saint, and the worship of the local shrine was thus continued from olden times in a new setting. The clerical authors drew their inspiration from the religious literature with which they lived in daily connection. They saw things only and solely through the glasses of ancient legendary lore and could not find greater praise for their own saints and heroes than to liken them to those that shone to them from the pages of the old books they so much revered

and whose personages seemed to them the acme of human and divine achievement.

The second point to which I must draw attention is that the records of olden times, of persons and places, were not understood by the people unless translated into their own surroundings, dressed in their garb, speaking their language, and behaving in the same manner as their contemporaries were behaving. The heroes of the Homeric poems, the exploits of Alexander, were viewed from a standpoint of the knight and the tournament. Unless Alexander, or say Ajax and Achilles, accommodated themselves to put on the armour of the knight and to act the way the people acted they would have been ignored. The whole ancient world became a living contemporary; the heroes obeyed the code of chivalry with all its complicated etiquette. One can scarcely recognise the old heroes under the new disguise, and it requires a whole system of reconstruction and rearrangement in order to recognise old acquaintances in the knights of the mediæval romances. Yet the difference is one of detail and setting, not of incident or *motif*.¹

And thirdly, what were the literary methods of these authors? A close investigation of the whole romantic literature reveals, side by side with great poetical force, a surprising poverty of invention. The situations and incidents told of one hero are repeated *ad nauseam* by every subsequent poet. Nay, whole cycles of romances are bodily taken over and applied to other heroes than those of whom they were originally composed. Too well known to be emphasised again is the transfer of the whole Merovingian cycle to

¹ How the new chivalry came to life at that time is a problem with which I cannot deal here, nor is it an easy task to trace its origin to an indisputable source. Suffice it for us to note the fact that the refined form of chivalrous adventures, the beloved theme of the subsequent romantic literature, does not appear in Europe before the end of the eleventh century, and follows as it were in the wake of the Crusades and as a sequel to the exploits in the East and to the close contact with the new world which opened to the European knight.

the Carolingian. The old kings and knights gave way to new kings and knights, but only the names were changed, the rest remained almost unaltered. The same process of transfer from older and more or less forgotten heroes takes place continually; new names are substituted for the old, and local considerations play a decisive rôle in the transfer. The trouvère who sings the exploits of the ancestor of this baron will use the same language and ascribe the same exploits to the ancestor of another baron when he sings in his hall and at his banqueting feast. The same tendency prevails everywhere and at every time. We meet with it at almost every turn in the epical poetry of the East, and of the West. It is one of the constant factors in the development and evolution of the ballads. Sufficient attention has not been paid to this point. Here and there this transfer and change has been admitted, but not recognised as an universal law, only as an exceptional incident. I on the contrary find in this practice of constant substitution, the very key to the problem of the sources from which the ancient writers have drawn their inspiration. Their skill consisted in giving a thorough local character to a tale borrowed from elsewhere and in so changing the colouring as to impress their contemporaries and to win their applause.

This, then, is my starting-point in the investigation of the sources of the Merlin legend. Our earliest authority for it is the Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth.¹ I therefore ask myself:—Given a monk at a local shrine, endowed with some poetical imagination, to what kind of literature could he have had access in England at the end of the eleventh or twelfth century? What mass of tradition could be floating about him, to be caught up and fixed in his writings? and for what kind of audience did he

¹ See my article on *Jewish Sources and Parallels to Early English Metrical Romances*, 1807.

write in the hope of appealing to their sentiments and winning their approval? How great was his naiveté and their credulity? As for the last there is no limit to either, but as for his learning we must take it as restricted within a very narrow compass. Primarily his mind must have been saturated with Christian religious literature largely composed of legendary matter; the innumerable lives of saints and holy anchorites, the vast apocryphal literature, were the great storehouse of his information and inspiration. The *Golden Legend* was not only the first book printed by Caxton, but also one of the earliest with which every cloister was familiar. It must also not be forgotten that the Apocrypha found their earliest home in England long before any other country in Europe. The oldest poems of Caedmon and the oldest Mysteries written here go back primarily to these apocryphal tales and legends. The very centre of the Graal legend rests ultimately on these uncanonical writings, modified, no doubt, to some extent by other motives and interpretations of a mystical nature, which again have their root in mediæval Christian mystical speculation upon transubstantiation and the spiritualisation of the Mass and Sacrament.

Can we then find anything in that religious literature which, if stripped of its modern accoutrement and changed into its more primitive form, could be considered as one of the sources for the legends clustering round the name of Merlin? which may briefly be related as follows:

Vortigern, king of Britain, determined to erect an impregnable castle, in which he might defy all attempts of his enemies. Having made this decision he pitched upon a spot on Salisbury Plain, traced out the plan of the fortifications, sent for artificers, carpenters, and stone-masons, and collected all the materials requisite to building; but the whole of these disappeared in one night, so that nothing remained of what had been pro-

vided for the construction of the citadel. Materials were, therefore, procured from all parts a second and a third time, and again vanished as before, leaving and rendering every effort ineffectual. Vortigern inquired of his wise men and astronomers the cause of this opposition to his undertaking, and of so much useless expense of labour. They replied: "You must find a child born without a father, put him to death, and sprinkle with his blood the ground on which the citadel is to be built, or you will never accomplish your purpose."

In consequence of this reply the king sent messengers throughout Britain to search for a child born without a father. After having inquired in all the provinces, three out of seven came to the field of Aelecti, in the district of Glevesing, where a party of boys were playing at ball. And two of them quarrelling, one said to the other, "O boy without a father, no good will ever happen to you." Upon this the messengers drew their swords, conceiving they had found what they sought. But Merlin—for he was the boy—after rebuking his companion for his indiscretion, ran to the messengers, and, to their great astonishment, told them the whole circumstances of their mission, assuring them at the same time that Vortigern's wise men were fools, and that all the blood in his veins would not in any way contribute to the solidity of the intended castle. He then conducted them to his mother, who told them the history of his miraculous birth, which is, in short, as follows:—She was one of three sisters, of whom the two first went astray, and she herself was deceived by a (devil) semi-demon in shape of a man. As soon as this was found out she was brought before the Judge to be condemned to death. But St. Blaise, her confessor, believed her, and interfered in her favour to postpone the judgment until two years after the birth of the child. When that event took place St. Blaise baptised it immediately, and counteracted the wicked purposes of

the devil. After a time, when the mother was bewailing her fate, the new-born child opened his mouth, and said to his mother, "Be not dismayed, for you shall never be judged to death for my cause."

When the two years were expired, she appeared in court with her child in her arms, when, to the astonishment of all, the infant undertook her defence. He then proceeded to tell that he was the son of a devil of great power, though fortunately rescued by an expeditious baptism from the vicious dispositions of his paternal relations; that he could prove his preternatural descent by revealing all things, past, present, or future. And at the same time he told the Judge some very unpleasant truths about his own descent, which convinced him of the prophetic power of Merlin and of the innocence of his mother. Five years after this, by the advice of Merlin, she assumed the veil of a nun, and spent the remainder of her life in acts of devotion.

Merlin was just seven years old when he was met by the messengers, who, at his entreaty not to shed his blood, promised to spare his life, and they decided to bring him alive to Vortigern.

The journey lasted three days, and each of these added to the admiration of the messengers for their young companion. I will mention here only one of his acts. They passed the first night in a market town, the streets of which were crowded by merchants; and here Merlin after a long silence, burst into a sudden and violent fit of laughter. On being questioned about the cause of his mirth, he pointed out to the messengers a young man who was bargaining for a pair of shoes with uncommon earnestness. And he said: "See you not that young man that has shoon bought, and strong leather to mend them? He thinks that he will live them to wear; but, by my soul, I dare well swear he will be dead before he enters his gate." The event immediately followed

the prediction. So also, in two other cases, his prophecies came true.

When he knew of Merlin's arrival, Vortigern rode forward to meet him in great magnificence. The following day Vortigern conducted the child to the site of his projected castle. Merlin, before answering, wished to be confronted with the astronomers who had thirsted for his blood, and asked them why they had counselled the King to slay him. At the same time he revealed to them that they dreaded him, and that they feared he might cause their death if he should live, and therefore they had devised to kill him. He then asked the permission of the King to question them as to the cause of the destruction of the castle, and why it could not be built; and requested that if they should not know it, whilst he did so, he might then do with them what they thought to do with him. The King consented to every thing he asked, and the astronomers felt abashed, and declared humbly that their art had certainly deceived them, but the signs seen in the heavens could not admit another interpretation. They also did not know the cause of the tumbling down of the walls. Merlin proceeded then to say that immediately below the soil were two deep pools of water; below the water two huge stones, and below the stones two enormous serpents, the one white as milk, the other red as fire; that they slept during the day, but regularly quarrelled every night, and by their efforts to destroy each other occasioned an earthquake which demolished the building. Merlin ordered the workmen to dig away the earth. The water was soon discovered, and, by sinking wells, was wholly drawn out. The two stones were found at the bottom, and being removed, exhibited the tremendous serpents, which looked like fiends of hell. The struggle between the two began, and ended with the victory of the white serpent, which, however, disappeared after the combat. Merlin explained

the symbolical meaning of this fight, and this forms his famous prophecy, composed or versified by Geoffrey of Monmouth, which forms now the eighth book of his History. It was delivered by a child, and remained obscure until to-day.

To start at once with the final result which it will be my duty to prove, Vortigern and Merlin are here the late and somewhat confused outcome of a more ancient Oriental tale which belongs to the cycle of King Solomon and Ashmedai or Asmodeus. The history of Jovinian in *Gesta Romanorum*,¹ compiled in the thirteenth century, offers us also one side of that same cycle and shows that the series of legends connected with Solomon had already reached Europe some time before and had become completely assimilated by the writers of the Middle Ages, following the principles of transformation I have sketched above. The differences between the oldest version of the Solomon story and that of Geoffrey show unmistakably that the form only reached Geoffrey after it had undergone many a change in the course of time, for only after the belief in the Incubus had taken deep root in the minds of the people could such an origin as that of Merlin be believed in. In a former stage another origin would be ascribed to the wonderful child. We find one of these intermediary stages in a remarkable book, in which is related the legendary history of Jesus ben Sira, the author of the collection of wise sayings which forms part of the biblical Apocrypha.² This legendary biography agrees in the main with the child history of Merlin. Almost every incident is found there, naturally differently set, but all the vital points are there. His mother is the daughter of the prophet Jeremia and the latter is his father in a miraculous manner. One can easily detect that either name is there of a late origin and has been

¹ *Ed.* Oesterley (Berlin, 1872); No. 59, p. 360.

² *Alphabetum Pseudo-Siracidicum*, ed. S. Seinschmeider (Berlin, 1858), f. 16b, 19.

substituted for another now effaced. In the Slavonic version of the history of the Sibylla,¹ we find another parallel to this peculiar miraculous birth. She is the daughter of King David begotten in a supernatural way, and this origin explains in both cases the ulterior prophetic wisdom of the offspring. (Incidentally I remark here that the Sibylla has been identified with the Queen of Sheba.) In the latter case the child becomes the prophesying Sibylla, and in the former the history goes on to tell marvellous adventures which bring the Sira story in closer similarity still to the Merlin legend. For Sira or Sirach speaks to his mother immediately after birth and comforts her, protecting her against the abuse of the world, almost with the same words as used by Merlin, who also protects his mother and proves her innocence. Sira's wisdom spreads far and wide and excites the envy and animosity of the astrologers and magicians at the court of king Nebuchadnezzar. They decide therefore on his destruction, and induce the king to send armed messengers to bring him, and to put to him such questions as he would be unable to answer; and thus hope to compass his death. The messengers find him, and after some trouble bring him to the king. He is then just seven years old, exactly the same age as Merlin when he appears before King Vortigern. At the court he easily discomfits his adversaries and causes their death instead of his by means of clever riddles. After that a discussion arises between the king and the child, who answers all the questions put to him, as well as cures the daughter of the king who is suffering from a strange disease. He then remains as the trusted counsellor of the king. His further fate is left as mysterious as his birth, and no mention of his death occurs.

We have in this legend a late and modified version of a much older tale, in which the principal actors are on the

¹ V. Gaster, *Literatură populară română* (București), p. 338; L. Miletici, *Stornikäre* (Sofia, 1893), vol. ix., pp. 177-180.

one side King Solomon, whose place has been taken here by Nebuchadnezzar, who is already turned to a kind of buffoon, and on the other a demon, whose place has been taken by a wonderful child with prophetic powers and of a half-human and half-demoniacal nature.¹ This version proves that at the end of the seventh century (for I place the date of the history of Sira at that period), the old legend had undergone sufficient change to approximate it to the legend of Merlin. But we must assume the existence of a fuller text of this form of the legend in which some of the older incidents had been preserved which have dropped out of the Sira version. In the old Solomon version we find the following incidents, which occur again in the Merlin version but not in the intermediate one of Sira. Solomon is anxious to build the Temple, but must not use any iron for cutting the stones. The only person that can help him is the king of the demons, Ashmedai, whom his general Benayah captures by a clever trick and who fastens a chain round him upon which the ineffable name of God had been engraved, so that he could not break it. On the way to the king the demon meets a bridal pair, and he weeps; he sees a wizard prophesying and promising to others riches, and he laughs; he sees a man bargaining for a pair of shoes and asking whether they would last him for seven years, and again he laughs; and so he does many strange things until brought before King Solomon, where he continues to act in a similar manner. When asked a few days later to explain the reason of his weeping at a bridal procession and his merriment at the man asking for a pair of shoes that would last a long time,

¹ It is not here the place to discuss a possible and very plausible connection between this version of the legend and other legends current at that and at earlier times, in Asia, about the virgin birth. Suffice it to remark that in the infant history of Jesus the son of Sirach we find surprising parallels to the apocryphal "Gospel of the Infancy," notably in the incidents of the precocious child and the teacher, which child instead of being taught takes the rôle of the teacher.

he replies that in the former case the bride would die soon, and that the buyer of shoes which are to last for seven years would not complete seven days.¹

I pass over other incidents which do not touch our question. It is only important to notice the strange behaviour of the demon and the dialogue which follows between him and the king. This later portion has been influenced afterwards by other legends of such witty dialogues and the putting of riddles to Solomon, or by Solomon to other reputed clever people, and is the ultimate source of the whole cycle of Solomon and Morolf, or Saturn and Marculph.² The legend related by Josephus³ of the riddles put by Solomon and King Hiram through *Abdemon* may have contributed to introduce a *demon* into the legend. The Queen of Sheba, who is the hero of other witty contests with King Solomon, according to widely spread Oriental legends, partakes also of the character of a demon or a genie. She has the feet of a demon, and is thus half human and half demoniacal, and she is also identified later on with the prophesying Sibylla. This form is then transplanted into the next development of the legend in Europe, of which we have the Romance of *Solomon and Morolf* in German and the still more important Slavonic version of *Solomon and Kitovras*, which Vesselofsky in his exhaustive study⁴ of this cycle of legends has proved to be a corruption from *Kentauros*, the half-human half-animal creature of Greek mythology. The contest then is between Solomon and a being which in consequence of the Christian colouring could no longer be a heathen *Kentauros*, but follows the lines of the Sirach version, and becomes a child in which the demoniacal half is represented by the father and not by the actual semi-human form.

¹ *Talmud; Treat. Gitten*, l. 68.

² Gaster, *Lit. pop.*, p. 79, ff.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.*, viii., 53.

⁴ A. N. Vesselofsky, *O Solomone i Kitovras* (St. Petersburg, 1872).

How did this old legend then come over to England? No doubt in one of those collections of religious legends and tales which formed the library of the cloister, and reveal clearly the atmosphere in which the writers of those times moved. Their scholarship could not be very extensive, and we must therefore try and find the sources of such legends in such books as could be within the reach of the writers of the age. I need not again emphasise the fact that in the so-called *Gesta Romanorum* (which, according to Oesterley, the greatest authority on the subject, were first collected in England), we find other stories of the Solomon cycle.¹

I will now give, in as faithful a translation as I can command, a legend which I have found in an old Rumanian manuscript, embedded among miracles of the Virgin Mary and of St. Nicholas. It will prove, I hope, the existence of the missing link between the Oriental tale and the Western Christian counterpart and indicate the way and the possibility how such legends could have become known to the monks in the West. The tale in itself I consider a gem from a purely poetical point of view, and were it not that I bring it forward in this connection I intended publishing it separately as one of the most beautiful tales I have found among the *Exempla* and *Gesta* of old.

The tale (in my MS. 71) is called: "How it came to pass that the Archangel Gavriil served an abbot for thirty years," and is as follows:

"Once upon a time it came to pass that the Lord sent the Archangel Gabriel to take away the soul of a widow woman, and, going there, he found her near death and two

¹ Such as the contest of Solomon with the demon Asmodeus and his obtaining the miraculous stone-cutting worm Tamir or Shamir (so already in Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* and in other writers, such as Vincent of Beauvais, etc.); the humbling of Solomon through this very demon, Solomon being changed into King Jovinian. To this cycle belongs also the "Angel and the Hermit," inculcating similar moral teaching.

twins were suckling at her breasts. The angel seeing it took pity upon them and returned without having carried out His command, not having taken the soul of the widow. This happening he was asked by the almighty power of God, why he had done so. He replied, 'For the sake of those two children I did not take the soul of their mother.' Then the Lord told him to plunge into the depths of the sea and to bring up a stone from the bottom. When he brought it up the Lord told him, 'Cleave it in twain.' And the Archangel cleft the stone and he found therein two little worms. 'Who feeds these worms inside the stone at the bottom of the sea?' asked the Lord. And Gabriel replied, 'Thine abundant mercies, O Lord!' And the Lord said, 'If mine abundant mercies feed these worms inside the hard rock, how much more would I feed the children of men whom I have saved with my own blood!' Whereupon He sent another angel to take the soul of the widow, and the Archangel he condemned to serve for thirty years as servant to an Abbot and to take care of him, and at the end of the thirty years he was to receive the soul of that Abbot and carry it up to the throne on high. And thus the Archangel became the servant of the Abbot, and during all the time he was very humble and meek and obedient, so that the Abbot marvelled at him and all through those thirty years no one saw him laugh. One day the Abbot said to him, 'My son, go and buy me a pair of shoes which are to last one year.' He then laughed. The Abbot, who did not know that the serving brother was an angel, wondered at it, and he sent another brother with him to watch whether he would laugh again. So the other followed him and they came to a place where a poor man sat who cried, 'Give alms, have pity on me,' and the angel laughed again. They met afterwards a carriage. In it sat the bishop and the governor of the town with great pomp and pride and many people following after them. And the angel turned aside

and laughed again. In the market place they saw a man stealing an earthenware pot and the angel laughed a fourth time. After they had finished their purchase they returned to the Abbot and the other brother told the Abbot that he had laughed three times more. Then the Abbot asked the angel and said, 'What can this be, what does this mean, my son? For thirty years thou hast been serving me and I have never seen thee laugh, and to-day thou hast laughed no less than four times.' And the angel replied, 'I am the Archangel Gabriel and I was once sent by the Lord to take the soul of a widow whom I found suckling two children at her breast; taking pity on them I spared her, and as punishment for this my doing have I been sent by the Lord over all to serve thee thirty years and to protect thee from all evil, and at the end of the thirty years I am to receive thy soul. Now the thirty years have come to an end and I will then tell thee the reason for my laughing. I laughed first when thou didst order me to buy thee a pair of shoes which were to last for a year, whilst thou hast barely three days more to live. I laughed a second time when I heard the beggar asking for alms whilst he was sitting on a rich treasure without knowing it. I laughed for a third time when I beheld the bishop and the governor riding about with so much pomp and pride, for these were the twins of the widow on whose behalf I had been punished, and for a fourth time did I laugh when I saw clay stealing clay. And this is the reason why I laughed. But do thou now prepare thyself, for the time of our journey has arrived.' The Abbot, hearing these words prepared himself and on the third day he gave up his soul to the Archangel who took it with him on high, where he joined his heavenly band rejoicing. Amen."

Thus far this wonderful tale, full of deep faith and moral beauty, with its impressive lesson of divine providence and not wanting in human pathos and poetry.

You will observe that one of the incidents which cause the angel to laugh is absolutely identical with the incident in the legend of Merlin, and as I have already pointed out forms part of the older version of the Solomon Ashmedai cycle. The Rumanian story goes back, as does all Rumanian religious literature, either directly, or indirectly through Slavonic intermediaries, to a Greek source, and from thence it could have reached England at an early period, sufficiently early to form part of the literary repertory of the church or cloister. By means of this religious literature the legends of the East travelled and found a ready home in the West.

But there are still incidents in the life of Merlin which require elucidation. He is forcibly summoned before the king because he is to explain the reason of the falling of the foundations of the new castle. The suggestion of the magicians to sprinkle the foundations with his blood reminds one forcibly of similar devices and legends in the East and in the West. They go back to the practice of human sacrifices which have been practised far and wide and have not yet entirely died out, though in modern times the shadow is immured in the foundation in the belief that the person whose shadow is laid in the foundation of a house is sure to die within the year of the erection, and he would then be the protecting genius of the house. I know this practice as a living one in Rumania, where the gipsies, who are the bricklayers, try to take the measure of the shadow of any person that passes by and build it into the foundation.

More important is the solution of the riddle by Merlin, who orders the builders to dig up the foundations, where they would find two dragons fighting one another, and sure when thus liberated to destroy another and thus remove the cause of the constant falling in of the walls. There is a curious old legend connected with the building of the Temple according to which when they dug for

the foundations they came upon the waters of the deep, which surged up and threatened to drown the world, until the advice was given to David (Solomon) to write the wonder-working name of God upon a stone and to place it upon the mouth of the waters of the deep. They would sink and the stone would close the orifice and thus save the world.¹ Yet another legend is current in Europe, due to the teaching of the *Elucidarium*, that curious handbook of the Middle Ages into which all the natural science of the period with all its fantastic embellishments flowed, and from which many a scholar of the time drew his information about the phenomena of nature. We are told there, in the cosmography of the world, that the earth rests upon water, the water upon a mighty rock, the rock upon two whales, and when these whales move there is an earthquake. There is yet another source, and this approaches the Merlin legend too closely not to be considered the true source of the history of the two fighting dragons. This also is found in a book with which every priest in olden and modern times might be expected to be quite familiar, for it is nothing else than the famous dream of Mordecai in the Apocryphal additions to the book of Esther. The passage in question runs as follows: I am giving here the rendering of the more elaborate Aramaic version (De Rossi),² corresponding to XI, 5-11 Greek. "Behold there was a great noise and tumult and the voice of terrible uproar upon the whole land and terror and fear seized all the inhabitants of the earth; and behold there appeared two mighty dragons and they came one against the other to fight and all the nations of the earth trembled at the noise of their fury. And there was a small nation between

¹ *Talmud; Treat. Succah*, f. 53 a, b.

² J. B. De Rossi, *Spec. Var. Cett. et Chald. Estheris addimenta*, ed. 2 (Tübingen, 1783), p. 122 ff.

those two dragons and all the nations of the earth rose up against it to swallow it up. And there were clouds and darkness and obscurity upon the face of the earth . . . and the dragons fought one another with cruel fury and frenzy and no one separated them. And Mordecai beheld and lo! a fountain of living water sprang and flowed between the two fighting dragons and stopped their fight. And the small fountain swelled into a mighty river and overflowed like a mighty sea and swept everything off the face of the earth. And the sun rose up and the rays lighted up the whole earth."

Here we have the floods at the bottom of the castle and the two fighting dragons. The small nation may be represented by the small child. The interpretation by Mordecai of that symbolical dream, just as Merlin interprets afterwards the appearance of these two fighting dragons and their symbolical meaning for the future of the house of Vortigern, and the Sibylla, Sheba, prophesies the future when leaving King Solomon.

Let us now briefly sum up the results at which we have arrived. A king is engaged in the building of an important house (temple, castle). He cannot carry it out without the assistance of a being endowed with supernatural powers (a demon, a half-and-half human and demoniacal being, a child born under extraordinary circumstances and endowed with supernatural wisdom). This being helps the king in his undertakings and defeats the machinations of its enemies (the demon becomes the friend, wife, of the king); the cause of the trouble is found in unquenchable floods or in dragons shaking the foundation; the cause is laid bare and the event is invested with a symbolical meaning (a prophetic utterance), foretelling the future. On the way to the king the supernatural being acts in a curious and apparently unaccountable manner, but in the end his wisdom and foreknowledge is vindicated by subsequent events. All these elements the

Merlin legend has in common with the Oriental traditions which cluster originally round Solomon and which have been elaborated in the course of time and in many recensions, the latest of which stands nearest to the Merlin legend.

What then is more natural than to assume that these latest versions lie at the bottom of the legend as elaborated in England by Geoffrey or any of his immediate predecessors, who had, as we have seen, ready access to these masses of legends and tales. They are an essential and highly prized part of the vast religious legendary material, that formed the storehouse of information in those times. Given the practice of assimilating old legends to new surroundings and spelling the past in the letters and ideas of the present, of substituting better known names for less known ones and making a romance out of the ancient tales of Greece and Palestine, then this legend can only be the reflex of the oriental tales and motives, not even skilfully worked up. One can easily detect the seams in the coat. The latter part of the Merlin legend entirely belies the first. There is absolutely no connection between the later adventures of Merlin at the courts of Vortigern, Uter, and his son, and the incidents at the beginning of the tale.

The Lives of the Saints and the tales of pious anchorites, the Bible with its apocryphal additions, suffice completely to explain the origin of the legend and I therefore do not see why we should go outside the immediately possible and probable and venture upon hypothetical assumptions of Celtic or other tales, the existence and higher antiquity of which have still to be proved. Above all it must be shown how any religious writer came to know of such legends and mythical tales, which to his eyes must have appeared as heathen abominations, which he was bound to suppress and to banish, being the work of the Evil Spirit, and not to be supported by his religious zeal

and devotion. I do not wish to exclude the possibility of some lay *trouvère* introducing later on into the versified poem some other trait of a local origin, and embellishing his tale with elements drawn from different sources, but the proof for this must first be adduced and the premisses from which I started must not be lost sight of nor slightly pushed aside. Not only must we take cognizance of the atmosphere in which poets and romancers moved, but also recognise that the same forces which act in modern times operated also in those days. A man can only be the product of his time, he cannot soar far above the limitations of education and surroundings. If in order to understand a poet we must go to the poet's land, so also must we go to his library, to his spiritual armoury, to know whence he has taken his spiritual weapons. The genius of the poet does not shine so much in what he says as in how he says it, how he transfigures the elements with which he deals. He is the true alchemist who changes the base metals of spurious and wondrous tales into the gold of immortal poems. Out of simple apocalyptic visions of Heaven and Hell grew the immortal poem of Dante, and from very inferior Italian novels some of the most beautiful dramas of immortal Shakespeare. Lesser geniuses have transformed older Oriental tales into romances of chivalry, religious tales into phantastic compositions which delighted the masses of the mediæval public, prone to listen to everything supernatural and wondrous, not over-critical nor fastidious about the fare placed before them, and satisfied to get a glimpse of another world of men greater and braver and nobler than themselves, and of learning, indistinguishable at the time from witchcraft, by means of which the future could be read as easily as the past, and the dark powers that surrounded them could be subdued and made to serve the best and highest interests of kings and nations.

M. GASTER.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

I CANNOT agree with Dr. Gaster's theory that the prose romances preceded, and were the sources of, the poetical. The main body of expert opinion inclines to the other view; *i.e.* that *lais* and metrical romances preceded, and were elaborated into, the longer prose works. Of the authors of these prose works we know nothing; it is doubtful whether Walter Map, to whom the majority of them has been described, ever wrote anything of the kind. M. Gaston Paris has shown that Hèlie de Boron and Lucas de Gast, the reputed authors of the *Tristan*, are merely assumed names. Such biographical details as Dr. Gaster sighs for are in the present state of our knowledge quite unattainable.

Nor is there any reason to believe, save in the case of the *Grand Saint Graal* and *Queste*, that the author of any one of these romances was a monk. Nor were the monks unfamiliar with secular traditions. They were not born and bred in the cloister, but in many cases came thither after a long experience of court and camp. Why should they have forgotten what they knew in the world?

With regard to the Merlin story, Layamon, who certainly had access to insular and local traditions, gives a very different account of his birth. His father was no "demon," but a glorious golden-clad knight, who appeared to his mother in a dream. The story discussed by Dr. Gaster only touches a very small part of the Merlin-legend. It affects nothing in his later life and offers no parallel to the shape-shifting which was so marked a feature of his career; nor for his "wood-abiding" madness and his prophecies. It is quite as likely that a sage of his fame should have been fitted with a birth-story drawn from a world-wide tradition, as that the whole Merlin story should have sprung from such a tradition. All that Dr. Gaster can claim is to have shown that his birth-story is based upon a tradition not specifically insular, but world-wide, and of great antiquity.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

[See further, p. 462.]

THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE ARUNTA.

BY N. W. THOMAS.

(See *ante*, p. 242.)

READERS of the works of Spencer and Gillen cannot fail to be struck with the fact that, Alcheringa and similar legends apart, mythology is conspicuous by its absence. This is the more remarkable because some ten years ago, in the *Report of the Horn Expedition*, iv. 183, one of the authors had given an account of a sky-being named Ulthaana, with emu feet, who has a wife and a child who never grows older; after death too the soul, so far from undergoing reincarnation, lives with two *ulthaana* on the shore of a body of water. This account is in substantial agreement with the narratives of the missionary, Kempe, in *Trans. Roy. Soc., S. Aust.*, xiv. 244, and of the narratives of the German missionaries reproduced by Krichauff in *Trans. S. Aust. Br., R.G.S. Aust.*, ii. 33 sq., 77 sq. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find little more than a mention of mythology in the two works produced by Spencer and Gillen. Among the Arunta they find a bug-bear, Twanyirika, whom they believe to have been invented to keep the women and children in order; among the Kaitish there is a sky-person, Atnatu; but beyond this superhuman beings are conspicuous by their absence.

The peculiar philosophy, however, of that part of the Arunta tribe with which Spencer and Gillen are acquainted, makes it, on reflection, less surprising that we hear little or nothing of gods or a future life. For the latter the Arunta

theory of reincarnation leaves no room ; the elimination of superhuman beings is less easy to explain, however, and it would have been more satisfactory to learn under what circumstances it was resolved to omit all mention of the sky-being known to Gillen in 1896, whose name clearly means no more than spirit.

With the intention of clearing up some of the difficulties, I put myself in communication with Mr. Strehlow, missionary at Hermannsburg, and successor of the gentlemen whose reports were reproduced by Krichauff. He is, I understand, intending to publish in the near future a work upon the Arunta, of whose language he is a master. I publish the following communications, for which I take this opportunity of thanking him most heartily, not as in any way a complete statement of the beliefs of the southern Arunta, but as a contribution to the vexed question of the primitiveness or otherwise of the Arunta beliefs described by Spencer and Gillen. Mr. Strehlow writes to me in German ; his letters, dated February 11th and August 3rd, 1905, run in a somewhat condensed form as follows :

" *Altjira*, the god of the Aranda, lives in the sky (or heaven). He is like a strong man in outward appearance, save that he has emu-feet, whence he receives the name of *Altjira iliinka*, the emu-footed god. He is of reddish skin (red is the favourite colour of the blacks), and has long hair, which falls over his shoulders. His dress is a netlike garment. He eats *latjia* (a sort of carrot ?) which is always fit for food in the sky, and eatable berries, such as *agi* and *lalitya*, which are always in season there.

" *Altjira* is surrounded by handsome youths and immortal virgins. He is the creator of the heavenly bodies—sun, moon, and stars. The Milky Way is a river, hence called by the blacks *lara*, river, or *ulbaia*, creek, with fresh water-holes and fruit ; birds and beasts, too, wander through the realm of *Altjira*. When rain clouds come up, it is *Altjira* walking through the sky—a good omen for mankind of a

season of plenty. Altjira shows himself to man in the lightning; the thunder is his voice. If the lightning strikes anything, it is Altjira lighting a fire. When Altjira does not show himself (in the storm cloud) men have to suffer in a season of drought. Altjira is a good god; he never punishes man; therefore the blacks do not fear him, and render him neither prayer nor sacrifice."

"An evil being is also known to the blacks—*erinja kuna* (=evil spirit)—whom they conceive as a skeleton, but endowed with extraordinary strength. This being sets himself to rob men of their *tjurunga* (churinga). If anyone is ill, he comes from his abode beneath the earth, Tatarra, or Alpara, and puts his foot on the man's throat, to kill him. This being the blacks fear. From him have proceeded many "devils," little black beings with a long thin body, but no arms or legs. Their bodies are covered with hair and their faces distorted. They come on the earth at night, and cause pain and disease by entering the bodies of men."

"In olden days there were giants on the earth; but the giant Urbura struck the earth, which was covered with water, so that the latter was scattered in all directions. Mangarkunjurkunjia, also a strong man, created mankind; Twanjirika taught them circumcision."

In reply to a further letter Mr. Strehlow writes as follows:

"The word *altjira* has in itself no meaning; but a verb derived from it, *altjirerama*, means primarily to become god; it is used in the sense of to dream; for the blacks think that in dreams are revealed the will of Altjira, or future events, and pay great attention to them."

"Spencer and Gillen assert (*Nor. Tr.*, p. 745) that *alcheri* means dream, and Alcheringa, the dream times; this is a mistake. Dream is *altjirerinja*, a dreamer, *altjirarena*; a 'dream time' is unknown to the blacks. It is also erroneous to say that the Aranda believe in reincarnation of ancestors; what they believe is, that each birth is an

incarnation of invisible individuals (not merely spirits), who live in trees, crevices, water-holes, etc., in human or animal form, and enter the bodies of women, being named after the species of animals from which they originated. The soul does not go back to the *knanakala* place at death, preparatory to reincarnation; it goes northwards, to the island of the dead, called *laia*, where it wanders for many years and is finally annihilated. The *tjurunga* is not the abode of the soul, but the body of the dead person, and is therefore painted with red ochre, and at times decorated like the body of a living person. The bodily existence of the deceased ceases with the destruction of the *tjurunga*. It is further erroneous to maintain, as do Spencer and Gillen, that there is no meaning now obtainable for the *tjurunga* songs. I have a collection of thirty with a translation, which are still understood by the chief men."

It is clear from internal evidence that Gillen's *Ulthaana* is not a proper name; the same appears to be the case with *altjira*, which, according to Kempe, is applied not only to five gods, whose names he gives, but also to the sun, moon, and remarkable things generally. This so entirely coincides with what we know of theological terminology in the lower planes of culture that we need have little doubt of the accuracy of the information. It is hardly possible to suggest seriously that the beliefs detailed by Kempe and others are derived from missionaries, whose arrival among the Arunta only dated back ten years before the publication of the information. Certain details apart, the information now published seems equally unassailable on this ground. "Immortal virgins," it is true, are hardly a savage conception; but it seems hardly likely that such an idea would be derived from a Lutheran missionary; if anything they rather recall the houris of Mohammedanism than any Christian idea. Probably, however, it is rather a question of translation than of the invasion of foreign ideas. If we had the original text before us it would

perhaps turn out that "virgin" is a translation of a word which means only unmarried female.

If, therefore, these ideas are substantially native in origin, the question arises, Do they represent the primitive Arunta creed, or are we rather to turn to the pages of Spencer and Gillen for an idea of what was originally the philosophy of the whole Arunta nation?

Those who are not convinced that the philosophy of the Arunta is anything more than an interesting "sport" will see in the opposing camps of Arunta theology fresh evidence that the ideas of part of the tribe have undergone evolution away from the main current of Australian belief. It is for those who still maintain that the Arunta of Spencer and Gillen are the old-established firm to show how another portion of the nation comes to hold entirely different views. There are, I conceive, three and only three possible theories—(1) it may be asserted that the ideas here published are the product of Christian influence; or (2) it may be maintained that they are derived from neighbouring tribes; or (3) that they are being evolved by a portion of the tribe to replace an original non-theistic, non-eschatological (virtually, at any rate) belief.

To the first theory the character of the beliefs seems an insuperable objection. No trace of Christian teaching is discernible in them. Not only so, but they are recorded by missionaries within ten years of the opening of the mission, and again twenty years later, with no important variation. If the natives had so eagerly thrown aside native belief for Christian ideas, it is inconceivable that the latter should in the short space of ten years have become crystallised. We should find them, on this hypothesis, at a different stage in 1905. But this is not the case.

In the case of the second theory the *onus probandi* is equally on those who advance it. Correspondences of name and incident with the mythology of the Urabunna, or other neighbouring tribes, must be shown in detail before even a

prima facie case can be made out for this hypothesis. If it be possible to show that the ideas in question are advancing from their assumed centre of origin, then indeed the view is tenable that they are encroaching on the primæval theology of the Arunta nation. From this point of view, it is regrettable that Spencer and Gillen do not mention them in their works, still less attempt to show where the boundary between the two sets of ideas falls at the present time.

If the third theory could be substantiated, we should be confronted with the interesting spectacle of a mythology in the making, not to speak of the evolution of the idea of deity. One cannot indeed see why or how the ideas set forth in this paper should or could take the place of the Arunta philosophy of Spencer and Gillen's natives. On the other hand, it is not difficult to trace the possible course of evolution in the reverse direction; but it seems unnecessary to do so until the explanation of the facts here set forth has been attempted by some believer in the primitive atheism of the Arunta.

N. W. THOMAS.

COLLECTANEA.

NOTES FROM SOUTH NIGERIA.

(*Ante*, p. 242.)

I. *Making Father (Ezimi).*¹

(*Extract from my Journal*). We purposed crossing the river Osseomo or Awreomo on the morrow (the 22nd April, 1903), so we sent a boy on ahead to say that we were coming and would cross the river in the morning.

Soon after our arrival at Ogúgu's town he came to welcome us, accompanied by one or two Benin City chiefs and their followers. He told us that he had intended "making father" that evening, but that as we had come and the festivities might annoy us, he would put the feast off until we had gone. We thanked him for his welcome and assured him that we should very much like to be present while he was "making father," and prayed him to proceed with his festival just as if we were not present. He seemed pleased to be honoured by our presence, and ordered his people to bring us wood, fire, and water, and food for ourselves and our boys.

Shortly after dark crowds of people bearing lamps and torches came together in front of Ogúgu's residence. The cloistered wall through which one had to pass to obtain an entrance into his house contained several altars, and as we lay on our camp beds in the rest-house opposite, we gazed through the door and window at what was going on before us.

There stood Ogúgu before one of the altars dressed in what

¹ Cf. Miss Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 146.

appeared to be a red hat and gown, a glowing figure, the lurid light of many torches falling on him. Then a goat was held up so that he might sever its head from its body and sprinkle its blood upon the altar. Six goats were killed, and all the altars within and without the house sprinkled with their blood, and all this was done in comparative quiet. Then Ogúgu, a Nabori holding up one of his arms and followed by his courtiers, danced before his people. Then followed the three great dances called *Okele*, *Ugulu* or *Sakwadi*, and *Ohogo*, which I will describe later on. We saw but little of these dances that night, but from the noise that took place the natives appeared to have appreciated them; and then for a time all was quiet. Soon, however, bands of people singing and bearing lamps and torches wended their way in Indian file round about and into Ogúgu's residence; no sooner had one emerged than another seemed to take its place, and their songs as they approached and wandered about the place and finally departed were weird and beautiful. Some sang softly in falsetto, and some sang songs that reminded one of old Gregorian chants. This went on all night. In the early morning Ogúgu, preceded by a band of drummers and players on beaded gourds, came out of his house followed by many hundreds of people. Immediately in front of him was a man bearing a dish of cowries (*Igo*), and just behind him was his umbrella bearer and his courtiers. Under the shade of this umbrella Ogúgu crushed the cones of chalk (*Orhue*) and sprinkled the dust upon the cowries. Thus the procession passed us on its way down the grassy glade which led to the Benin City road. The band waited for the procession just where the glade is divided by Kolo trees from the village, while it proceeded to the "juju" place to salute the great father who, in the spirit, is still in Benin City, but who, as Overami, the late king of Benin, is in reality a prisoner in Old Calabar. On the return of the procession the band joined it, and Ogúgu scattered the cowries right and left to the boys and girls who scrambled for them.

Thus did Ogúgu celebrate the anniversary of the death of his father.

Then he came to greet us as we sat in front of the rest-house,

and asked us if we would like to see the dances more distinctly, as he was afraid that we had seen very little of them the night before: we thanked him and said yes.

The first dance, called Ugulu or Sakwadi, was danced by one man only. He turned circles, keeping perfect time to the band of beaded calabashes and drums. The second, Okele, was rather more interesting, as it was danced by two men; one had a fan in his hand, and the other had his hands clasped in front of him. The man with the fan went through certain steps which the man with the hands clasped had to copy exactly; when he failed another took his place. The third dance was called Ohogo, and was most remarkable. Fifteen men, three with native bells and the rest with beaded calabashes, took part in it. They were scantily dressed and had bells and rattling seeds round their arms and ankles. A man with a bell (evidently their conductor), with one with a beaded calabash, were surrounded by the other thirteen in a perfect circle. At a signal from their conductor the thirteen ran round in a circle, while all beat their calabashes and bells; suddenly they stopped, turned towards each other in couples and saluted each other; at a signal they then started off again, changing their step as it pleased their conductor, who seemed to have perfect control over their movements. Then at a signal all danced inwards towards the centre of the circle, and crowded themselves over their now crouching conductor and his companion. At a beat of his bell all withdrew and continued dancing in a circle. The many and complicated steps, all perfectly accomplished, placed this dance a long way above the general average native dance, and we were more than astonished to find how perfectly trained these dancers were. We were told that in the olden days the slightest error in public in such a dance was punished by death.

II. *A Ladies' Dance.*

On the 2nd August, 1903, the chief, Obaseki, gave a dance to which he invited the officers then present in Benin City. This dance was given in one of the rooms in the chief's house. The room was square in shape, the roof sloping inwards towards the centre which was open, forming something between a Roman

pluvium and a Spanish *patio*, some 15 or 20 feet square. On two sides were recesses, in one of which the chief's wives were crowded, and it was on the mud platform in front of this recess that the dancing took place.

Some of the wives played the drums, while others beat the beaded calabashes and sang the choruses to the songs of the different ladies who from time to time got up and danced and sang. Each lady was evidently famous for some particular song and step, but we preferred one that reminded us rather of one of our own round dances, danced to a song full of her husband's praise.

III. *Secret Societies.*

The object that most of the Secret Societies round about Benin seem to have at heart is to check the despotism of the rulers of the people, but often the ruler himself becomes a member of the Society and soon its leader thus secures its services in furthering his own despotic ideas.

The Bini call their Society *Igwomori*, and it is said that while still a prince the late king, Overami, became a member of it. The first crime this Society committed on the death of king Adolo and crowning of Overami, and at the latter's suggestion, was to execute all the late Adolo's councillors. Overami then placed many of the *Igwomori*, many of whom were sons of the lately executed councillors, in their father's place.

The Secret Society of the Ishan people played a great part in defending the Benin City chief, Abohon, and other refugees after the British had taken Benin City in 1897-8.

There are Secret Societies at Owo and Akwe.

The Sobo Society is called *Otrada*, that at Ifton, *Otu*, while we have only just had a sad experience of the influence of the *Ekemeku*, or the Silent Ones, in the hinterland of Asaba.

In an interesting article, dated May 13, 1904, in the *West African Mail*, Mr. Hughes, an earnest student of African customs, writes:

"The *Ekemeku* Society has for long been in existence. The aim and idea of its establishment was:

1st. To settle any tribal differences amicably.

2nd. To uphold the law and institution of their countries according to rights of usage.

3rd. To prevent any oppression of their kings and chiefs.

Of late the Ekemeku Society has become composed for the most part of the younger and more lawless elements, who hold their meetings at night, who work by secret methods, and who are a continual source of terror to the more peaceful natives, whom they compel by threats of death to contribute to their Society."

IV. Marriage and Birth Customs.

There appear to be two kinds of marriages among the Bini.

Among the upper classes the children are betrothed by their parents from infancy. The present may be a nominal one, such as four kolas, three cowries and some palm wine, or it may be more.

The man is supposed to keep on giving the child betrothed to him presents until she is grown up; he also makes her parents gifts. The seduction of such a betrothed girl is heavily punished. On the other hand, among the poor, the girl is not necessarily betrothed, and a man may seduce her without legal punishment.

The man may refuse to marry his betrothed, and then he has the right to give her in marriage to anyone, unless she is of noble family, when she can only be given to a free man.

The girl may not refuse to marry the man to whom she is betrothed or his chosen representative. But the father may at any time refuse to give his daughter to her betrothed, but he has to refund to him all the presents the would-be husband has given to her and her parents.

When his wife conceives, the husband gives her a cock to sacrifice.

The son marries his deceased father's wives.

After the birth of a child, the father gives the mother another name. The child also will give her mother a name, a friend will also name her; and so one often hears a person spoken of by two or three names.

Very few women in this country are true to their husbands,

most of them having at least one lover. When a child is born, the woman does not declare who its father is until her husband is dead. Many women live openly with their lovers; the great majority of cases in court are for return of a wife, and many women prefer to go to prison than to return to their legal husbands.

Often on the roads one passes a small tree planted by the side of the road near which are chalk marks and a mound of earth, cowries, yams and plantains. This tree has been planted in memory of the fact that some woman or other has brought forth a child on that spot.

R. E. DENNETT.

ADDITIONS TO THE GAMES OF ARGYLESHIRE.

(Continued from supra, page 349.)

MINNEACHAN.

(P. 165, after line 15.)

In Barra the above is called "Biorrachan beag agus Biorrachan mor." It begins with the statement. "Chaidh Biorrachan beag agus Biorrachan mor latha a bhuain cnothan. Mar a bhuinneadh Biorrachan mor dh'itheadh Biorrachan beag.

"Chaidh Biorrachan mor gus a' choille a dh'iarruidh slait gus gabhail air Biorrachan beag a dh'ith na cnothan. Nuair a ruig e 'n coille, etc." (Little Biorrachan and big Biorrachan went one day to gather nuts. As big Biorrachan gathered, little Biorrachan ate. Big Biorrachan went to the wood to seek a switch to thrash little Biorrachan who ate the nuts. When he reached the wood, etc.) With the change of names the narrative was the same as that given from p. 158, line 18, to p. 161, line 16, where the "yellow-haired woman" becomes "the woman baking," "a bhean fuinneadh." Biorrachan asks for a bannock; "Cha'n fhaigh thu

bonnach, thu bhairt a bhean fuineadh gus am faigh thu uisg' a fhliuchas e.

Cha robh soitheach aig' a bheireadh dhachaidh an t-uisg' agus thug a bhean fuineadh dha criathar.

Chaidh e gus an tobar agus thog e lan a' chriathair, ach dh'fhalbh an t-uisge troimh. Thainig feannag os a cheann ag glaothaich." "Suath poll bog ris, suath poll bog ris."

Rinn e sin, agus thog e lan uisg' a rithist, ach dh'fhalbh an-uisge mar a rinn e roimhe.

An sin thainig faoileag os a cheann ag glaothaich. "Suath criadh ruadh ris, Suath criadh ruadh ris."

Rinn e sin agus thug e dhachaidh an t-uisge gus a bhean fuineadh, agus thug a'bhean fuineadh am bonnach dha finishing as on p. 161, line 28, "Thug an gille an sop, etc." (You will not get a bannock, said the baking woman, till you get water that will wet it. / He had not a dish that would bring home the water, and the baking woman gave him a sieve. / He went to the well, and he lifted the full of the sieve, but the water went through it. / A grey crow came above his head crying "rub soft mud to it, rub soft mud to it." / He did that and he lifted it full of water again but away went the water as it did before. / Then a sea-mew came above his head crying, "rub red clay to it, rub red clay to it." / He did that and he took home the water to the woman baking, and the baking woman gave him the bannock), etc.

NOISE MACHINES.

(P. 170, after line 13.)

A writer in the *Glasgow Evening News* of the 14th October, 1901, says that he has known in Argyleshire what is commonly called "a Bull Roarer." "The 'srannair' we had was made of a piece of builder's lath, eight or nine inches long, notched at the edges with a string at one end by which it was rapidly whirled round the player's head to give a sonorous moan." None of our collectors had apparently come across this, which for the matter of that we have seen in use in Edinburgh, but we are glad to have the authority for its having been used in the Highlands.

(P. 170, after line 13.)

The Sucker.

This simple demonstration of the effect of a partial vacuum is known throughout all the Highlands. A disc of stiff leather from two to three inches in diameter, provided with a cord from its centre, of from two to three feet long, is thoroughly wetted and pressed with the foot on the flat surface of a stone which can then be lifted by the string. The size of the stone the sucker will sustain gives a test of relative efficiency.

(P. 172, after line 4.)

This trick was known in Dunoon under the name of "Clock Work," the button being fastened to the window with a little black soap.

(P. 173, after line 9.)

Cowrie, Cowrie, Connsaich.

The back of the left hand is placed on the knee and the right hand used to cover it, both hands being held firmly together, a box-like space being left between them. By gently knocking the two hands so held upon the knee, a chinking noise is made supposed to resemble the sound of small gravel and shells being rolled together by the tide. Keeping time with the movement of his hands, the performer repeats—

"Cowrie, cowrie, connsaich
Tha e seideadh dosgaich
Latha math am maireach."

(Cowrie, cowrie, contending. / It is blowing the clusters? / Fine day to-morrow.) The curious thing here is the use of the word "cowrie."

PAIN GIVING.

(P. 177, after line 9.)

In Harris this game is played somewhat differently. The middle and forefinger of the right hand are laid across the corresponding fingers of the left hand, a square opening being formed between them, large enough to admit another's finger.

The one who has done this says to another, "Cuir do mheur a steach ann sin." (Put your finger in there.)

The finger having been put in, the following conversation is carried on, the one who formed the trap commencing, "C'ait an deachaidh do mhathair?" The other answers, "Chaidh i steach do'n bhaile." "C'ait an d'fhag i 'n iuchair?" "Dh'fhag i ann an toll na glaise i." "Ciamar bheir thu as i?" "Mar chuir mi ann i."

("Where has your mother gone?" Ans. "She has gone into town." "Where did she leave the key?" Ans. "She left it in the key-hole." "How will you take it out?" Ans. "As I put it in.") The one whose finger has been caught tries to pull it out while the other does his best to keep it in the trap.

(P. 177, after line 24.)

This was also called in North Argyleshire "Cutting the Cheese in France." One, supposed not to know the trick, was asked, "Do you know how they cut cheese in France?" If he did not, he answered probably "No." The proposer of the question then taking a firm grip of the green-horn's wrist, stretching out the arm said, "So mar a bhios 'ad a gearaidh a caise anns 'an Fhraing," (This is the way they cut the cheese in France), stroking the while with the flat of his hand the arm, from shoulder to wrist, which being repeated several times, was finished with a sharp blow with the edge of the hand in the bend of the elbow.

(P. 178, after the bottom line.)

The King and Queen of Sheba.

Generally reckoned a girl's game. The uninitiated are put out of the room. Two chairs are placed with space enough for another between them and a plaid spread so as to cover the seats, being kept taut where there is no chair by a player sitting on each of the other chairs. One of those outside is now brought in and introduced to the King and Queen of Sheba, who receive the newcomer graciously, but of course retain their seats. They then invite her to sit between them

and initiate a conversation, watching their opportunity to rise simultaneously so that the other falls to the ground. In this case it is not merely the drop which may cause merriment, but if well done the conversation made by the king and queen to keep the victim unsuspecting and put her entirely off her guard.

Making Nuns.

Also a girls' game. Having found a "tender-foot" who expresses herself desirous of being made a nun, she is taken out and another prepares her for the ceremony by tying a white handkerchief round her head and shrouding her in a sheet. Meanwhile those in the secret spread a shawl or plaid on the floor and kneel round the edge of it. One is nominated Mother Superior who kneels free of the edge. The novice is brought in and kneels on the shawl, facing the Superior, who questions her as to her various qualifications, name, age, knowledge of knitting, love affairs, etc. This having been finished, she is solemnly asked "Do you desire to become a nun?" Naturally the answer is "yes," but the question is repeated "Are you quite sure you would like to be a nun?" The answer again is "yes," when those behind her suddenly draw the shawl, of course throwing her on her hands and face.

(P. 178, at bottom.)

Hard Knuckles.

From Kintyre. A boys' play. One holds his hand out, palm upwards and clenches his fist firmly, the other shuts his fist and strikes downwards with all his force with his knuckles on the exposed knuckles of the other. They have stroke about till one gives in.

Hard Liefs. (Jamieson's "Looves," 'the palms of the hand.')

Also practised by boys in Kintyre. One holds out his extended hand, palm upwards, the other comes down on it with his hand, back downmost, striking with his nails on the fingers of the extended palm. It is stroke about till one of the players is contented.

PUZZLES.

(P. 184, after line 33.)

Forethought and Industry seem inculcated by the following. We translate the Gaelic literally. There was a farmer yonder who was feeling a lad, and when he inquired of the lad what wages he would be asking, said the lad, "Not but three grains of corn for the first year, and each year after that, that I shall be allowed to sow what grows of them wherever I please throughout the farm." The farmer considered he had the right bargain here, and he said to the lad that he would get that, and they came to an agreement. When the lad got the first three grains he sowed them on the top of the house—it was a thatched house—and they grew so well that there was a good handful of seeds for him. When next year came, he sowed them at the end of a rig, and so he went on from year to year, till at the end of a few years there was no ground for the farmer, and the servant lad got the farm town to himself.

Stories run generally to proving that the servant is smarter than his master. A master suspecting his servant of dishonesty, in order to test the question, entrusted him with sixteen shillings which however were to be returned at next date of reckoning. In accepting the money, the servant laid the sixteen shillings on the table in the following order, counting them one by one as he laid them down. He counted out eleven shillings, placing them in one row from left to right, and under the centre shilling he put a perpendicular row of five shillings, remarking to his master "That's sixteen shillings." The master agreed. The servant then, as though to make the matter sure by another process said, "There must be an equal number of shillings in each of these two angles, we'll see how many there are," and commencing at the bottom of his perpendicular, he counted in the right-hand angle, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and then from the same starting-point the left hand angle, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, "Yes, there are eleven in each angle," and the master agreed. When the time of reckoning again came, the servant only put four shillings in his perpendicular row, and brought down the shilling from each end of the horizontal one. Having then given an account of the transactions between whiles, he proceeded to count the two angles

as before, and was able to demonstrate that there were eleven shillings in each angle and so satisfy his master, though he had retained a shilling for himself.

We may give here the story of "How the Miller Tricked the Suspicious Farmer."

In a country-side, suspicion having fallen on the miller that he kept more than the regulated multure, a farmer declared that the miller would keep none of his next grinding. When the time came, the agriculturist took his own corn to the mill and kept a sharp look-out on the miller. Meanwhile, the miller had heard what was in the farmer's mind. When he arrived and indicated that he would wait till his stuff was ground, the miller said he would be very pleased to have his company as long as it was necessary for him to remain. As rapidly as possible the corn was got ready for the mill, and then the miller slipped into his house and put on a special shirt his wife had prepared for him, somewhat wide-sleeved with a peculiar wristband. The grinding commenced; every now and then the miller would put up his hand as if to free the discharge of the flour, but in reality to allow so much of the meal to fall into his shirt sleeve. While moving about he managed to empty this sleeve into a barrel without raising the suspicion of the farmer. The miller then got his wife to bake some of the meal, and when all the corn was ground, offered the farmer refreshment before starting for home. During the meal he inquired what his customer thought of the bread. The answer was satisfactory, the bread was good. "Well," said the miller, "that bread was made from your meal. I doubt if it is much use your again trying to watch a miller."

(Page 240, after line 20.)

This game was also called "Pussy Cat" and the "Buckle." The diagram used being as described, but the ends of the parallel lines were joined by a semi-circle to the ends of the two perpendicular lines.

(Page 188, after line 21.)

Another cryptogram common in Argyleshire is—

XXURXXUB, ICURXX4me

Too cross you are too cross you be, I see you are too cross for me.

Another—

YYURYYUB, ICURYY 4 me.

Too wise you are too wise you be, I see you are too wise for me.

Another—

If the B mt put : if the B . putting :

If the grate be empty put coal on if the grate be full stop putting coal on.

Another—

Dear 1/- come 2 5 T 6.

Dear Bob come to tea between 5 and 6.

In a book on games, it would be quite out of place to go into questions of tinkers' dialect, the so-called "shelta" or, as they seem sometimes to call it, "Okam" (*Revue Celtique*, xiii. 403). These disguised languages are of the 'Pedlar's French' order. Among children, the adding of a syllable to the ordinary words, the use of "back slang," etc., is common enough; they may flatter themselves that it is not understood by their seniors, but it is generally used merely for amusement. We have not heard of any such transmogrification of the Gaelic, the only thing of the kind we have come across being the addition of the sound of the *k* to English, thus:—Ifk ik hadk, etc.; any person can originate examples for himself.

A certain amount of amusement is got out of asking the meaning of certain sentences, the emphasis being deliberately put on the wrong word; for example:—"Explain this; it was, and I said not, or." If the one to whom it has been proposed "gives it up," it is repeated thus:—"It was *and* I said, not *or*."

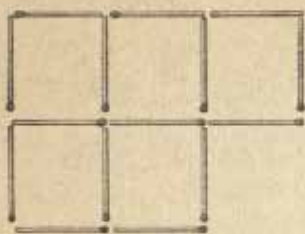
Tricks with matches are pretty common.

Match Tricks.

1. Without omitting any to make 11 matches 9—

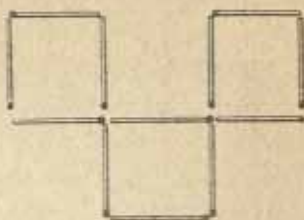


2. With 15 matches form 5 adjoining squares, then by removing 3 matches leave 3 adjoining squares. This is most simply shown by a diagram—



A

A First formation.



B

B Result.

3. To make 4 triangles with 6 matches—



(P. 190, after line 31.)

Ag cuir Snaim's mo dha Laimh Paisgte. (Tying a knot and my two hands folded.)

The performer sitting, lays a cord across his two thighs, then folds his arms across his chest, his right hand on the outside of his left fore-arm, his left hand under his right upper-arm. He then seizes with his left hand the end of the cord which is towards the left, then with his right hand, the end of the cord which is to the right, of course not moving the relative positions of his two hands. With the arms placed as directed, the left hand seizes the left end of the cord under his right arm, while the right hand seizes the right end of the cord over his left arm. Separating the hands will draw the string into a knot.

Virtually the same trick, performed more easily, may be done in the following manner:—Lay a cord upon the edge of the right hand, so that one end hangs over the back of the hand and the other over the palm, then put the left hand between the sides of the cord, pushing it along the back of the right

hand from point of fingers to wrist. One end of the cord will now hang over the palm of the right hand, the other over the back of the left. If the ends of the string are pinched up between two fingers of the hands which are opposite them, and the two hands separated, a knot will be formed.

A piece of string, at least four times as long as the breadth of the palm, must be used.

RIDDLES.

Ag cuir Toimhseachain. (Putting Riddles=Giving Guesses.)

A collection of riddles would be, if at all complete, probably a book as large as Nicholson's *Gaelic Proverbs*, but in a book of pastimes, it would scarcely do not to take some notice of the existence of guesses. They indeed formed a large part of the entertainment at a "ceilidh," i.e. a visit for purposes of gossip and amusement, practically always the spending of an evening in a neighbour's house of a gathering of those sufficiently intimate. To afford a glance at the way in which such a meeting would be carried on, especially as regards guesses, we give reminiscences of an old Mull man upwards of eighty years of age. The lads of the place where he was born frequented the house of one W— C—, and among the various pastimes riddles played their part. Now W.'s wife was a midwife, and was consequently pretty frequently away from home, but the evening gatherings suffered no interruption, William himself and a grandson being always at home. Mrs. C. was detained unusually long with a professional engagement on Loch Sunart, but there was *ceilidh* as usual. George, the grandson, being the entertainer, old William having retired to bed, the bed being on one side of the kitchen, round the fire of which the visitors gathered. Each one knowing the other, "like the palm of his own hand" as they say, guesses were almost a common stock, and those given had been answered right away, when George propounded, "Bodach anns a' bhaile so, agus a bhean ann Loch Sunart thall." ("An old man in this town and his wife away there in Loch Sunart.") Loch Sunart being both the loch and the houses in its neighbourhood.

The meeting at once recognised a new guess. In giving guesses, the practice was to give each one a chance of answering, but if the proper answer was not given, it was relegated to the next evening of meeting, and if still too deep for those present, to a third, when, after all had confessed inability to solve it, the solution was given. Probably expecting that it was some question much more recondite than it was, though many answers were suggested, it survived till the third night, when all having given it up, it fell to George to give his answer. Old William had retired as usual, and the exposition by his grandson was:—"Nach 'eil suilean agaibh cho math 's th'agamsa. Nach fhaic sibh am bodach na laidhe 'n sin; nach 'eil esan anns a' bhaile so, agus nach 'eil a bhean ann an Loch Sunart." ("Have you not eyes as well as I myself, don't you see the old man lying there; is he not in this town, and isn't his wife in Loch Sunart?") The fearful simplicity of this tempted his friends to give George a licking.

RHYMES.

(Page 206.)

Besides those given in the Appendix, there have been sent in a considerable number, many of which like those already given, are local modifications of rhymes common to Scotland and England as well. A writer in the *Glasgow Evening News* gives as counting-out rhymes known to the writer of the article—

"As eenty feenty holigolum,
As orkle porkle peel a gun,
Saw ye the laird of Eezil peeril
Jumping over Jerusalem steeple,
A, pee, pie, pipe!"

"As eerie orie ickery am,
Pick ma nick and shick ma sham;
Orum scorum pickmanorum,
Shee, sho, sham, shutters!"

"As eenty feenty fanty fig,
As iral diral do-ma-nig,
As irky, birky stole a roe,
As an tan tish toe!"

COUNTING-OUT RHYMES.

(P. 250, after line 19.)

"Hockie, pockie, penny a lump,
That's the stuff to make you jump."

"Eenie, meenie, manie, mo,
Catch a nigger by the toe,
If he squeals let him go,
Eenie, meenie, mannie, mo."

"First tae coont the king's name
Corra, ina, amen."

"As inty, tinty, lathera, mothera,
As an tan, toosh tock."

"Innery, unnery, eke a man eke,
Hollaman, tollaman, erica man,
Whiska, dinda, poker stinda,
Holla, polla, you are out."

"Ikery, dickery, dock,
The mouse ran up the knock,
The knock struck one,
The mouse is gone,
O.U.T. is out."

"Ina, dina, dinalo, dash,
Cattla, weena, twina, wash,
Speech, spot, shail be done,
Tweedulum, twadlum, twenty-one."

"Eatun, peatum, penny pie,
Pop a lorum, jettum I.
Ease, oze, ease ink,
Pease porridge, man's drink."

Among the Gaelic children's rhymes and lullabies, for many of them seem to have been used notoriously for this purpose, we give some as they have been sent us—

"Cha theid mi laidh 'nochd gus a faigh mi rudeigin
Rudeigin, rudeigin. (repeat).
Cha theid ma laidh gus a faigh mi tri casan caorach,
Tri casan, tri casan, tri casan caorach,
Tri casan, agus brollean, tri casan caorach.

Tri casan agus brollean agus pìese de 'n masdheil,
'S tha theid mi laidh 'noch gus a faigh mi rudeigin."

("I will not go to bed to-night till I get something, / something, something / (repeat).

I will not go lying (down) till I get three sheep's trotters, /
Three feet, three feet, three sheep's feet, / Three feet and a
breast, three sheep's feet. / Three feet and a breast and a piece
of the paunch, / And I shall not go to bed to-night till I get
something.")

"Huill o mo chuillin min
Thall 's a bhos mo chuillin min
I o mo chuillin min
Huill o mo chuillin meanbh.

"I o mo chuillin chuillin
I o mo chuillin chuillin
Eh o mo chuillin chuillin
Thall 's a bhos mo chuillin meanbh."

("Hullo my smooth doggie / Here and there my smooth doggie /
I o mo my smooth doggie / Hullo my little doggie. I o my
doggie doggie / I o my doggie doggie / A o my doggie doggie /
Here and there my little doggie.")

"Cas a Moch a Lurie
A Lurie, a Laurie
Cas a Moch a Lurie,
Air urlar aig m'Aicheadh. (m'aithail)

"Chuirin ann a craidhail e
Shuidhin ann a chuiridh air
'S iomadh te bidh airiedh
Na laidh le a fein thu."

The contributor who sent this seems to think that "Moch" has some connection with *mogan* a 'hussion,' a stocking leg. He translates it "The foot of Moch a Lurie / A Lurie, a Laurie / The foot of Moch a Lurie / On the floor of my dearie. / I would put him in a cradle / I would sit down to wait on him / Many a woman would be glad / To own you herself." The literal translation of the last two lines seems to be "Many a woman will be worthy / You lying with herself."

"Sud mar chaidh an cal a dholaidh,
Air na bodaich dhubha Ghallda;
Laidh a' mhin air mas a choire
'S rinn na bodaich cabhruich."

("That is how the kail went to loss / On the old men black Lowlanders / The meal lay on the bottom of the pot / And the old men made sowans.")

"C'ait am bi na maraichean
Nuair a bhios muir a' deanadh?
A' mireadh le na caileagan,
Ann tighean geala Grianraig."

("Where will the sailors be? / When the sea will be making? (rising) / Playing (flirting) with the girls / In the white houses of Greenock.")

"Dian a ghaol nach beir thu air
Cha bu tu do shean-mhathair
Nuair a bha i aig t-aois,
Dian a ghaol nach beir thu air."

("Brisk my love will you not prevail with me (catch it) / You were not your grand-mother / When she was your age / Brisk my love will you not catch it.")

"Hi-an, ho-an crog an tailleur
Siosar, meuran, agus snathed."

("Hi-an ho-an the paw of the tailor / Scissors, thimble and needle.")

"Mhin bhosag bhan, lamh leinibh bhig,
Nuair a thig mis' as a bheann, gheibh thu im, 's bainne teth."

("Smooth white little palm, hand of little child, / When I will come from the hill you will get butter and hot milk.")

"Craganach, craganach, craganach gaolach,
Goididh tu gobhair, 'us goididh tu caoirach."

("Hardy (?) hardy, hardy dear / you will steal goats and you will steal sheep.")

This is a Uist lullaby.

"Zinty pinkty, halligolum
The cat went out to get some fun,
It got some fun and back it comes
Zinty, pinkty halligolum."

"Tom Blair is a decent man, he goes to church on Sunday,
Prays to Heaven to give him strength, to whip the boys on Monday."

"Who is there?
Tom Blair,
What does he want?
A bottle of beer,
Where is your money?
In my pocket,
Where is your pocket?
I forgot it,
'Way down the stair
Ye stupid blockhead."

"Pease brose again mother,
Pease brose again,
Thinking I'm a blackbird,
Me your ane wean."

"The auld wife
The cauld wife
The bed fou o' banes."

"Stick, stack stone dead
Stick him up, stick him down
Stick him in the old man's crown."

"Peter Dumdick, when did you flit?
Yesterday morn when I got the kick."

"Hallelujah make a dumpling
Hallelujah bring it ben
Hallelujah make a big one
Hallelujah amen."

"Hush-a-baa baby, dinna mak' a din,
An' ye'll get a piece whan the baker comes in."

"Clap hands, clap hands till Mammie comes hame,
Mammie will bring something, but Daddy will bring nane."

"Auld Robin in the loch
Suppin' sowans oot a troch."

"Dainty Davie, curly pow,
Wet the grass, an' mak' it grow."

Address to a crab to make it run towards the sea when found some distance from the water—

“Tip, tap, taesie,
Keep your mind aesie,
The tide 's comin' in,
If you run a mile awa'
The tide will tak' you in.”

CHILDREN'S RHYMES.

“A B C soup, maragan a' mhuilt,
Cuir do leabhar anns a' phoit,
Agus gheibh thu fhein an soup.”

(“A B C soup, bloody puddings of the wedder, / Put your book in the pot, / And you will get the soup.”)

The above is from Applecross, a Barra version of it is—

“A B soup, maragan a' mhuilt,
Gill' an cota glas
Cuir an fheoil 'sa phrais,
Amhu, amhu, ithidh mi e.”

(“A B soup, wedder puddings, / Lad of the gray coat, / Put the meat in the pot / Miaw, miaw, I'll eat it.”)

The tradition that the Devil spoils brambles in September is shown in the following, repeated about the time of Rood Fair held at Dumfries in the end of September, the brambles having been made poisonous the night before the Fair.

“Oh weans, ho weans, the morn's the fair,
Ye mana eat the brambles mair,
This nicht the Deil gangs ower then a'
Tae touch them wi' his pooshioned paw”

From Barra—

“Little kettle burst the brow,
Short of petticoats of brown,
That is in the left off sound
Dinkum dolt, Donald MacSandie.”

This is supposed to be the English equivalent of the Gaelic counting-out rhyme “Gille beag” *ante*, p. 207.

(P. 207, after "escape" in line 22.)

Babylons.

From Ross-shire, a boy's game. One is chosen in the following manner to keep the den. All stand in a circle, except one who goes round counting them out by the words "easy, oozie, man's brosie, easy, oozie, out." On the word 'out,' the one touched falls out of the circle and the process goes on till only one is left who remains in the den. The others then scatter shouting "Babylons, Babylons," pursued by the den-keeper, and each one that he tigs joins in the pursuit till all have been caught.

Carr.

Ross-shire, any number of players. Two keep the den, the others hide in the neighbourhood, and when concealed they shout "carr." One of the den-keepers then goes out to look for them while the other continues in. Those out make a simultaneous rush for the den, when they think they have an opportunity, shouting "carr, carr," the while. The den-keepers try to tig as many as possible, but the two first touched would be the den-keepers for another game.

LULLABIES.

(P. 252, at the bottom.)

"Tha thu maol, run na glinne so,
Dh'fhalbh do mbathair, 's thug i fireach oirre;
Tha thu maol, run na glinne so,
'S thug i croc 'san robh mo chuid ime,
'S gar an d'thig an lath' a thilleas i,
Tha thu maol, run na glinne so."

("You are bald, darling of this glen, / Your mother has gone, gone to the moor; / You are bald, darling of this glen, / And she has taken a porringer in which was my butter, / And should the day not come on which she'll return, / You are bald, darling of this glen.")

"Ah dogs, ah dogs, a mhuinntir Eisdeal,
Bonaid ghorm's deacait dhearg,

Clachag mheanbh anns an deacait,
 'S bat beag 's leud a mais 'sa chreag,
 'S posaidh, posaidh."

("Dogs, dogs, Oh people of Easdale, / Bluebonnet and red jacket, /
 A little stone in the jacket, / And a little stick, and the breadth
 of her bottom in the rock, / And will marry, will marry.")

"Donull maol, mo ghille lurach,
 Thainig e postadh feadh na fraoich,
 Ach cha robh 'n cearc-fhraoich aig a bhanais."

("Bald Donald, my lively lad, / He came tramping through the
 heather, / But there was no heather hen (grouse, a real bird with
 secondary allusion) at his wedding.")

"Ha, ha, hu, ro, mo phropanach,
 Mo ghille maol is tu ;
 C'ait' am faigh mi bean dhuit
 Air an gabh thu gaol ?
 Ha, ha, hu, ro, mo phropanach,
 Mo ghille maol is tu ;
 Nighean Diuchd, neo Baran
 Aig am bi fearran saor."

("Ha, ha, hu, ro, my stout lad, / My bald lad are you ; / Where
 shall I get a wife for you / For whom you will conceive love ?
 Ha, ha, hu, ro, my stout lad, / My bald lad are you ; / A Duke's
 daughter or a Baron's / Who has free land.")

"Larach dubh, am breabadair
 Air muin nan creag,
 Larach dubh am breabadair
 'S mise air a muin.
 Lan an duirn
 Caorain dearga
 S ise a' ruith,
 'S mise air a muin.
 I ! ha ! hi ! O ! ho ! ho ! ho !"

("Black filly, the kicker (weaver) / On the top of the rocks / Black
 filly the weaver / And I on her top / A handful / Of red embers /
 to her tail / And she running, / And me on her back. / I ! etc.")

While the lullaby is being repeated, the nurse and the youngster

swinging backwards and forwards, and when the line I! ha! etc., is reached, they are said as if the neighing of a horse.

The above are all, we were going to say frankly, but hardly that, phallic.

"Tha nead na circe-fhraoich
 'Sa mhulan dubh, 'sa mhulan dubh,
 Tha nead na circe-fhraoich,
 'Sa mhulan dubh, 's an t-samhradh.
 Tha mhulan dubh air bhogadan,
 Air bhogadan, air, bhogadan,
 Tha mhulan dubh air bhogadan,
 A' togail, dol a dhannsadh.
 Is iomadh rud a chi sibh
 'Sa mhulan dubh, 'sa mhulan dubh,
 Is iomadh rud a chi sibh,
 'Sa mhulan dubh, 's an t-samhradh.
 Tha Donull a' gleadhadh snuisein,
 'Sa mhulan dubh, 'sa mhulan dubh,
 Tha Donull a' gleadhadh snuisein,
 'Sa mhulan dubh, 's an t-samhradh."

This is evidently phallic. ("The nest of the grouse. / Is in the black hill, in the black hill, / The nest of the grouse, / Is in the black hill, in summer, / The black hill / is shaking, is shaking, / The black hill is shaking, / Rising, going to dance. / Many a thing you see, / In the black hill, in the black hill, / It is many a thing you see, / In the black hill in summer. / Donald is keeping snuff, / In the black hill, in the black hill, / Donald is keeping snuff, / In the black hill, in summer.")

The word *mulan* is doubtless chosen from its resemblance to *muileann* = a mill, and, as further explanation, we are informed that the terms, "*muileann dubh*" was applied to the old form of water mill of which the wheel lay horizontally.

Lullaby still used in Applecross—

"Air iomairt sgairteil, null gu Scalpa,
 Air iomairt bheag, null a' chreig
 Air iomairt mhor, null a' chroidhleig,
 Air iomairt bhoichd, null a phloc
 Air iomairt rompa, null a Rona
 Air iomairt innseach, null Lochinneach
 Air iomairt caol, null a' chaoil."

("A vigorous exertion, across to Scalpa, / A small exertion, over the crag, / A considerable exertion, over the basket, / A miserable exertion, over the stump (block) / Driving before them, across to Rona, / An island conflict, across Lochinneach, / A slender exertion, across the strait.")

From Barra—

Ho-hi, ho-ha gur iurach thu,
 Ho-hi, ho-ha gur laoghach thu,
 Gur h-ann a theid mi a thir a' mhurain leat.
 Ged bheireadh iad biadh 's aodach dhomh,
 Ged bheireadh iad crodh 's caoraich dhomh,
 Ged bheireadh iad uil an daoine dhomh,
 Cha leig mi dhachaidh 'na t-aonar thu.
 Ho-hi, ho-ha gur iurach thu,
 Ho-hi, ho-ha gur laoghach thu,
 Gur h-ann a theid mi a thir a' mhurain leat.

("Ho-hi, ho-ha you're beautiful, / Ho-hi, ho-ha you're lovely, / 'Tis I'll go to the land of the bent with you. / Should they give me food and clothing, / Should they give me cattle and sheep / Should they give all their people / I won't let you home alone. / Ho-hi, ho-ha you're beautiful," etc.)

Said to a child with a flatulent stomach—

"Bheag bhag, goraichidh bhag,
 Bhag mo chomh-ghnath,
 Bhag, goraichidh bhag."

("Little bag, (stomach) croaking bag, / Stomach that does like mine, / Bag croaking stomach.")

In Uist the sound made by the wind through the telegraph wires is represented by the following—

"Iarally, arally tarraingean iarunn,
 Punnd tombac, 'us cairteal siapuinn."

("Iarally, arally iron nails, / A pound of tobacco and a quarter of soap.")

"Hi Diddle Diddle" is known in Argyleshire as well as elsewhere, but it cannot be claimed as Scotch. There is a rhyme common

to Scotland used to quiet a fractious child, the soles of its feet being patted the while the rhyme is being repeated—

"John Smith, fallow fine,
Can you shoe this horse of mine?
Yes indeed and that I can,
Jist as weel as any man.
Here's a hammer, here's a nail,
Caa't in, csa't in, csa't in.

Pit a bit upo' the tae,
Tae gar the horsie clim' the brae,
Pit a bit upo' the brod,
To gar the horsie draw the load,
Pit a bit upo' the heel,
Tae gar the horsie pad weel,
Pad weel, pad weel, pad weel,

Small children are taught a certain amount of regulated movement, performing the relative actions mentioned while repeating the following rhyme—

"Tak your right fit in,
Pit your left fit out,
Tak your left fit in
And then turn round about."

(P. 256, after line 12.)

"Rain, rain, go away,
Come again another day."

"Rain rain,
Go to Spain,
John Bain
Is wanting you."

"Round about, round about,
Round about roost,
Up a bit, up a bit,
Into a house."

The nurse singing, holds the child's hand while tickling the palm of it. On the words "up a bit," she moves her fingers up the child's arm, and on the word "house" puts her hand into its armpit and tickles it.

"Jack the Ripper's dead,
And lying on his bed,
He cut his throat
With Sunlight soap,
Jack the Ripper's dead."

Of course this is pronounced Scottish fashion so that "dead" sounds like "deed," etc.¹

"Rock, rock, bubbly jock,
Waken me at ten o'clock,
Ten o'clock is too soon,
Waken me in the afternoon."

R. C. MACLAGAN.

(To be continued.)

¹[This must be very modern. ED.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DANCING-TOWERS OF ITALY.

(*Ante*, p. 243.)

May not these towers be akin to the dressed and ornamented poles used in different parts of Europe to celebrate May-tide and summer festivals? I have not my notes at hand, but I think it could be shown that the whirling of the towers is analogous to people suspended from ropes swinging round about a pole. If I remember rightly, in ancient Mexico ropes were tightly wound round tall poles, and when they were set free the man hanging at the end of each cord naturally gyrated as he descended to the ground. Something very like this is also known in Russia. The old May-pole rites have died out here (Kirton in Lindsey), but the school-girls, incited by their teachers, have of late years taken to going from house to house carrying a small pole, round which they dance and sing. The long ribbons hanging from it, the ends of which are held by the dancers and which are interwoven in the course of the dancing, may represent ropes once used for swinging.

MABEL PEACOCK.

I was at Buxton on May Day, 1895, 1896, and 1897, and on each occasion I saw children (girls) dancing round a May-pole. They came from Burbage, Fairfield, and other villages in the neighbourhood, and carried a pole decorated with ribbons, which they set on the ground and danced round, holding the ribbons till they were twisted and plaited close round the pole and then

unplaited again by reversing the dance. I do not know how the pole was kept upright. I think there were some grown-up people with them—men. Some musical instrument was played, but I do not remember what. They performed two or three times in different parts of the town. It was usual to give all the school-children a holiday on May Day.

Kensington.

ALICE OLDKNOW.

This performance is not uncommon in North Staffordshire, but the pole is usually planted firmly in the ground, not carried about. I saw it first at Talk o' th' Hill in 1878 or 1879, on the occasion of a village fête; but I have never been able to trace it properly. I think, however, it is indigenous there, though it has now become common in other parts of England, introduced, as Miss Peacock says, by school-teachers and others.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

A CORRECTION.

I ask for space to correct an oversight in my article on *The European Sky-God*, No. III. It was towards the close of 1902, not 1903, as printed on page 288 (line 5 from bottom), that Dr. Frazer told me of his revised theory as to the *rex Nemorensis*. That communication preceded my further investigations into the subject, some of which were published in 1903. The date of the conversation is therefore not altogether unimportant.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

THE LEGEND OF MERLIN: A POSTSCRIPT.

(*Ante*, p. 427.)

What Miss Weston brings forward does not touch the question which I am discussing. She offers no evidence of the secular

learning of the monks, nor does she show the pre-existence of local legends and traditions which such monks might have brought with them into the cloister and utilised afterwards in their poetical compositions. It is utterly immaterial from my point of view whether the names of supposed authors are genuine or pseudonyms; nor does it affect the case at all whether Merlin was a local bard or only a madman. Such a fact, if accepted, would only strengthen my theory, for I hold that whenever a legend gets localised there must be some peg to hang the story on. I never doubted the possibility of the existence of a Merlin half-savage, half-man; but that Merlin has entirely disappeared in the literary form in which he is presented, and has been transformed beyond recognition.

M. GASTER.

BURIAL IN EFFIGY.

The following seems a curious adaptation of Mock Burial to the purpose of Riding the Stang.

In the petition for divorce of Louis Higman, a miner, on May 15th, 1905, Richard Jacob, a builder, living at Bugle, Cornwall, gave evidence that the conduct of the respondent and co-respondent (a jeweller), caused great scandal in the village, and "they were buried in effigy in September, 1898." The co-respondent supplied the beer on the occasion. Witness was among the crowd. There was a "clergyman" at the funeral, (explained by counsel to mean a person dressed like a clergyman); a "choir," "mourners," and an "undertaker." The "burial" took place in a field at the back of the house where the parties were living; it was private property.

Counsel read a local newspaper account of the proceedings, which stated that "The whole proceedings were carried out with the greatest decorum, and although there was an enormous attendance there was no sign of rowdiness, but solemn silence was maintained, the only voices heard, beside the lamentations of the 'mourners,' being those of the 'clergymen' and the 'choir' and those who chose to join in the 'service.' The police were present, but their

services were not required."—(Abridged from the *Morning Post*, May 16, 1905.)

M. PEACOCK.

A similar incident is reported in the *Daily Telegraph* of Thursday, August 10th, 1905, on the authority of a telegraphic report from "our correspondent" at Colchester, where, at the camp of the Essex Volunteer Brigade, the officers of one battalion conducted, on the previous evening, the mock burial of an unpopular senior officer.

"After dinner some thirty officers turned out, attired in long black cloaks, and each carrying a lighted lantern. In front was borne a deck-chair, covered with a Union Jack, and supposed to bear the corpse of the officer referred to. The procession passed round the officers' lines, and a mock interment was conducted, after which the assembled officers sang a song, and indulged in quadrilles and a cake-walk, the proceedings closing with the National Anthem."

One is glad to read that "more is likely to be heard" of this case of degenerate survival.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

THE MOCK MAYOR OF HEADINGTON.

When I was a boy at Headington, in Oxfordshire, a custom existed on the Wednesday of Whitsun-week, or, as it was called, "Whit-Wednesday," of chairing round the village, a man selected for the purpose—generally some drunken ne'er-do-well. A chair was made, I believe, from three or four hurdles, and covered with evergreens, with, I think, the addition of a few flowers. The hero of the day, who was jocularly described as the "Mayor of Headington," his face whitened with chalk, and picked out with red raddle, was set therein, after the manner of a Jack-in-the-box, and borne on the shoulders of four men through the village, preceded by the band, and accompanied by the banners of the village club. A halt was made at each public-house, where the "Mayor" made a speech (I remember one of Lord Palmerston's being read on one

occasion), and he and his bearers were treated to beer. As they were generally in a state of "doubtful ebriety" at the beginning of the function, I think the poor fellow often came to grief at the finish.

Was not this a degraded remains of the "Whitsun Lord?" I remember the custom from 1846 to 52 or 53. I am not certain whether it was kept up in the latter year. It has now gone to the limbo of forgotten things, as have the village club and the Whitsuntide merry-making, which are replaced by the "Manchester Unity of Oddfellows" and Bank Holiday respectively.

W. HENRY JEWITT.

Another *locale* of this not very uncommon custom was Embleton, in Northumberland. Mrs. Creighton gives the following account of its extinction in the year 1875: "An unpleasant custom prevailed on one of the days of the village feast [the week after Trinity Sunday], of getting hold of some tramp or wandering labourer and dubbing him the mayor of the village. He was first made thoroughly drunk and then put on a trolley and pushed round the village by a crowd of men and boys, who demanded, and generally received, money for drink at all the houses. The first year [of Creighton's incumbency] they even rolled him down to the vicarage. The vicar happened to be away that day; but he determined to put an end to the performance another year, and told the policeman that if either the 'mayor' or those who pushed him about got drunk over the performance he was to summon them for being drunk and disorderly. I believe they used still to drag the man about, but there was an end of the public exhibition of drunkenness."—*Life of Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London*, Vol. I., p. 171.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

A SWISS CHARM.

I spent a short time this summer in the Val de Morgins (on the Savoy border of the Canton de Valais). The peasants of

Morgins are devout Roman Catholics, and, in addition to other sacred or secular emblems, the cross or crucifix, large or small, adorns nearly every chalet, being erected, painted, carved, or incised on the woodwork of the houses. I noticed that a cross (a *Latin* cross) was often carved or hung over the principal door of the chalet.

In most cases there also was nailed on to the outside of the house, and most usually over the chief entrance, a cross rudely formed of two dried whips of the goat's beard spiræa (*spiræa aruncus*), which is one of the handsomest wild plants of the mountain woods. Mixed with this were dried sprays of *astrantia major*, also a common Alpine flower. The crosses were formed simply by two little bunches of the plants, about eight or nine inches to a foot long, laid across each other and fastened by a whip of grass in the middle, making the arms of equal length. As the composition of these roughly-made crosses seemed to vary little I guessed that they might be used as charms, and asked an old peasant woman their meaning. She said, "We of Morgins make these crosses every year on the Eve of St. John. They are made from the flower that we call St. John's Beard" (*barbe de Saint Jean*), "and with it we put some of the flower, I cannot now remember what its name is, but it is the flower" (*astrantia major*) "which has crimson stains upon it, because it is said that Christ's blood dropped upon it. On St. John's Day we take these crosses to church, where the priest blesses them. We then nail them on to the outside of our chalets, and they protect the house from lightning, fire, storm, and such calamities. In time of severe thunder-storm or danger from fire, the people will take a whip of the cross and burn it to avert the misfortune." When I said that these pretty old customs should be remembered, she added, "Yes, it is good that these pious things should continue, and that youth should learn them, for one *must* teach children *something*." From a Morgins peasant man I learned the same concerning these crosses.

I was only a few days at Morgins, so had not time to make more than superficial enquiries and observations, but in none of the valleys immediately adjoining could I see these charms

on the chalets; and as far as I could judge they seem to be peculiar to the Val de Morgins.

The *astrantia major* is called "master-wort" in some botanical books. Is this name connected with the legend told to me at Morgins? The likeness of the spiræa flower to a lock of hair suggests the interesting question whether it was once nailed up as a substitute for real hair, such as is hung on trees as a propitiatory sacrifice to the wood-fiend in New Zealand and Malabar, or in Slavonic countries as a "representative sacrifice," according to Dr. Tylor. I should be grateful to any reader who could supply information from the folk-lore of plants bearing upon both the *astrantia* or the *spiræa*, or could throw any light upon these flower-crosses.

LUCY E. BROADWOOD.

REVIEWS.

L'ANNÉE SOCIOLOGIQUE, publiée sous la direction de EMILE DURKHEIM, Professeur de Sociologie à l'Université de Bordeaux. Huitième Année (1903-1904). Paris: Félix Alcan. 1905.

THE anthropological *Mémoire* in this year's issue of *L'Année Sociologique* is by the Editor himself. Readers of *Folk-Lore* will remember that in the issue of *L'Année Sociologique* for 1902, Professor Durkheim considered in an elaborate essay the social organisation of the Arunta and neighbouring tribes as disclosed in the first volume published by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. Contrary to the opinion of the distinguished explorers he argued that the original organisation was based, not as they thought upon what he called male filiation, or what is perhaps more usually called in this country Father-right, the reckoning of kinship through the father only, but upon female filiation, or Mother-right, the reckoning of kinship through the mother only. Further, he held that the two fundamental classes into which these tribes, as well as many others, are internally divided, and which he calls phratries, were originally totem-clans; and that the change from mother-right to father-right by the central tribes was deliberately effected by the transfer from each of the phratries to the other of one of the two sub-classes.¹ Such a change, it may be observed, could only have been effected if the primitive character of the phratries as

¹ I am not quite sure whether this was in M. Durkheim's opinion a deliberate arrangement, since he seems to protest, in words quoted by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, that "the phratries are too closely bound up with the whole moral organisation of these tribes to admit of being arranged or dis-

totem-clans had been forgotten. This, indeed, appears to be the case; for in the tribes in question, as well as others, the very meaning of the names has been lost, though it is still traceable among some of the tribes in the south-east of the continent.

M. Durkheim's criticisms, and those of some anthropologists in this country, were not lost upon Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, who in their second journey made further investigations. The result was to confirm their previous opinion that the customs of the Arunta and Kaitish tribes "represent most nearly the original customs common to the ancestors of the central and north-central tribes." For our present purpose this means that paternal and not maternal descent was the basis of the original organisation.

In the present essay M. Durkheim returns to the charge. He maintains, against the explorers, that the type of organisation of the Mara and Anula tribes is substantially identical with that of the Arunta and Warramunga tribes, and that both are capable of being traced back to the same original: that they are in effect two different attempts at the solution of the same problem. He has, I think, the best of the argument; but the question cannot be put adequately before the readers of *Folk-Lore* in a small space. Assuming, therefore, that he is so far correct, I pass to consider his further proposition (originally suggested in a footnote to his previous article) that the system of eight matrimonial classes which obtains in these and some other tribes, has been purposely developed out of an earlier system of four matrimonial classes as the necessary consequence of the change from maternal to paternal descent.

It is clear that among both the Arunta and the Mara the eight classes are derived from four, because the terminology employed bears marks of their origin, and shows that the scission is still imperfect. Now, suppose that a given society

arranged in this manner." But I think it is clear that if the one change was deliberate the other was so too, and that, with the evidence before us, given by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen and by Dr. Howitt, of deliberate changes of custom and the manner in which they are made, we may safely say that such a change is not beyond the power of the sages of the tribes to imagine, to decree or to enforce.

or tribe consists of two phratries, each composed of two classes, forming thus two pairs of classes having the right of *connubium*. These may be represented as *A* and *A*₁ on the one side, and *B* and *B*₁ on the other side, so that *A* would have *connubium* only with *B*, and *A*₁ only with *B*₁. The class *A*₁ would consist of the children of the class *A* and the class *B*₁ of the children of *B*. In consequence of the prohibition, *connubium* with the forbidden classes would be regarded with aversion, as contrary to tribal usage, and ultimately doubtless with horror, as unnatural. By the hypothesis descent is traced in the first instance through the mother only. Class *A* would thus consist of the mothers of class *A*₁ and their brothers and sisters, giving those terms the wide extension usual in the tribes in question, and class *B* would consist of the mothers of class *B*₁ and their brothers and sisters. But the men of class *A* (the brothers of the mothers of class *A*₁) would be the fathers of class *B*₁; and *vice versa* the men of class *B* would be the fathers of class *A*₁. Suppose, further, that by some revolution, the causes of which need not detain us, descent began to be traced in the male instead of the female line. The children of the women of class *A* would then form class *B*₁, as being the children of the men of class *B*; and the children of the women of class *B* would be class *A*₁, as being the children of the men of class *A*. If the revolution were complete, there would be no difficulty about the children of the women of class *A* and the men of class *B* continuing to marry the children of the women of class *B* and the men of class *A*. But there is the influence of the ideas and feelings generated by the prohibitions and practices of countless generations to reckon with. Among the institutions of the society supposed is that of totemism. The men of class *A* (or some of them at any rate) and their children under paternal descent, would bear the totem of any given woman of the class. Although the children of that woman under paternal descent would not bear the same totem, yet they would continue to lie under the prohibition to marry in their mother's totem, and would regard with horror, as incest, the possibility of doing so, until the influence of the ideas and feelings just referred to had

completely died away. "So long as society was organised on the basis of mother-right, my mother's totem was also mine, and consequently I could not marry a woman of the same totem without committing incest. If, during so long a period, the maternal totem has marked all who bore it with a special seal which has rendered them matrimonially taboo to me, if the violation of this taboo has, during a long series of generations, roused in the conscience the movement of disgust and horror of which incestuous unions are the object, it is easy to conceive that these traditional sentiments, these inveterate repugnances cannot have vanished by enchantment, by virtue only of the adoption of a new mode of filiation. The fact that the civil and religious status of the children was no longer framed on the same principle could not suffice miraculously to transform a mentality so powerfully constituted. The prejudices consolidated by long usage survived the causes which had engendered them; and the maternal totem, conserving something of its old character, continue to give rise to the same matrimonial interdiction as in the past. The public conscience refused to admit that the members of class *A*₁ could henceforth marry those of *B*₁; and as they could not marry in any other class, all marriage became impossible to them." A way out of this *impasse* had to be found. It was found by dividing each of the primary classes, *A* and *B* (so to say) vertically into two, in such a way that the totem clans were divided between the new classes and the same totems did not appear in both halves of either of the primary classes. There was thus created a double cleavage. The primary classes *A* and *B* remained each divided horizontally by generations into *A* and *A*₁, *B* and *B*₁. They now became divided vertically by totems into *A* and *Aa*, *B* and *Bb*, making in the second generation *A*₁ and *Aa*₁, *B*₁ and *Bb*₁. The risk of marrying into the mother's totem-clan, and with it the horror of incest, the matrimonial taboo, was thus removed.

This is the hypothesis, and Prof. Durkheim proceeds to the task of proving it. He shows that among tribes, like the Narrinyeri and the Kurnai, in other parts of Australia, where male descent is the rule, marriage into the mother's totem-clan

is still tabooed. Among the northern tribes of Central Australia, such as the Worgaia, the Warramunga, and the Walpari, the totem-animal of the mother's clan is still under taboo; and the same rule applies in considerable measure to the Binbinga, the Mara and the Anula; though in all these tribes descent is reckoned on the father's side. The Warramunga, Binbinga, Mara, and Anula do not absolutely forbid marriages with the class which alternates with the mother's (that is to say, the class containing persons which bear her totem); but such marriages are rare, they are only contracted as secondary to more regular unions, and wives in such marriages are not called by the ordinary name of wife, but by words which really signify only a distant degree of relationship. It looks as though the taboo of the mother's clan and its totem were in all these cases still in force, but in most of them becoming enfeebled and beginning to disappear.

The hypothesis supposes, as I have just said, that the totem-clans were divided among the classes, so that the same totems were not represented in the two halves of either of the primary classes or phratries. This we find to be the case among the Mara and Anula, and though Messrs. Spencer and Gillen do not explicitly state it with regard to the other tribes, from a fact which they do state concerning the Warramunga there is reason to infer it. According to Mathews' statement, among the Tjingilli, or Chingalee as he calls them, and some other tribes, the phratry is inherited in the female line while the totem passes in the male line, with consequent differences in the arrangement of the classes from that of (say) the Arunta. This variation is inexplicable apart from the hypothesis of a change from maternal to paternal descent; and it should be noted that here the same partial relaxation of the matrimonial prohibition appears as that just mentioned among the Warramunga. Mathews' account, however, does not agree with that of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, for, according to the latter the matrimonial organisation of the Tjingilli is identical with that of the Arunta. More than that, according to the information collected by Dr. Howitt and by himself the organisation of the Warramunga precisely agrees with his account

of the Tjingilli, and consequently differs from that of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. The probability is (as we shall see directly) that the tribes in question are in a state of transition, and that Mathews and Howitt's statement may be (or may have been at the time) accurate as regards one portion of a tribe which is spread over a considerable extent of country, while Spencer and Gillen's statements may be equally accurate for another portion of the tribe, or (seeing that their report is the most recent) may be now accurate for the entire tribe.

A Warramunga tradition, reported by the latter, concerning the change of phratry of certain mythical beings lends countenance to this suggestion. Such a change of phratry seems actually to have happened in the Arunta tribe, where the Panunga class has been transferred from phratry *B* to phratry *A*, and conversely the Purula class from phratry *A* to phratry *B*. Nothing else will account for the Urabunna rearrangement of the classes to suit their system of female descent, when intermarriage takes place between the Urabunna and Arunta. According to Mathews' account a similar change has been effected by the Tjingilli. In this tribe the totems descend on the male side, while the phratries descend on the female side. The result is that while in tracing descent on the male side the totem is retained throughout the generations, the phratry is changed at every step in the genealogy; and conversely, on the female side the phratry is retained, but the totem changes. A woman as the first step of phratry *A* (call her *A*₁) gives birth to children who are *A*₂. The women of *A*₂ give birth to *A*₃, those of *A*₃ to *A*₄, those of *A*₄ to *A*₁. The women of *A*₁ marry the men of *B*₁; but the women of *A*₂ cannot marry the men of *B*₂, because, seeing that descent by totems is in the male line, these men would (or might) belong to their totem, in fact would (or might) be by tribal reckoning their brothers. They therefore marry the men of *B*₄. But this they could not do either, if *B*₄ were the descendants of *B*₁, because they would belong to their fathers' totem. The people of *B*₄ must therefore belong either to a gens of *B*, severed by what I have called vertical cleavage from *B*, or to a gens severed by the same process from *A*. Let us suppose the former. If we now compare the arrangement of

the phratries and classes as given by Mathews with that given by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen,¹ we shall find that the classes having interconnubial relations and the descent agree in every particular, —in short, that the arrangement is precisely the same, except that two of the classes (*A*₂ and *A*₄ in Mathews' list) have changed places with *B*₄ and *B*₂ of the same list. In one word, while Mathews' list represents the change as in process, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's list shows the change as completed, and the descent in both totem and phratry on the male side. To effect this the two classes referred to in each phratry have changed places.

The consideration of the evidence produced by Professor Durkheim thus affords a presumption of the truth of his hypothesis. But it cannot be regarded as absolutely proven. No tribe has yet, to my knowledge, been found combining eight matrimonial classes with female descent; but there are certainly a few tribes having only four classes which yet reckon descent through the father only. Dr. Howitt, from whom we learn of their existence (*Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, p. 114), is able to give us too little information to found very definite ideas as to the details of their organisation. The classes, however, are found in intimate relations with totems. Some of the tribes, the Kaiabara and Muruburra, for instance, definitely allot certain totems to each of the sub-classes. In the Annan River tribe, near Cooktown, Queensland, information of which was forwarded by Dr. Roth, both the classes and sub-classes are named from animals: an arrangement pointing to their totemic origin. Further research will be necessary to ascertain the mode of development of the organisation of all these tribes, and to obtain more direct and satisfactory evidence of the correctness of M. Durkheim's hypothesis.

Meanwhile that hypothesis would appear to account for the formation of the eight matrimonial classes. It is supported by the facts which Professor Durkheim alleges; and if these facts

¹ *Northern Tribes*, p. 100. The names are not difficult to identify. M. Durkheim has not discussed the changes I have pointed out here, but they seem to me to confirm his hypothesis.

do not amount to absolute proof, they certainly afford a presumption in its favour which we may look to further research to confirm. Learned, penetrating, and clear, M. Durkheim's criticisms are always valuable; and they have done much to solve the difficulties raised by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's important volumes.

The reviews of books, which form the bulk of *L'Année Sociologique*, do not call for any remark, except that they fully sustain their usual high level. The careful articles on the fifth volume of the *Report of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits* are an example.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

CULTES, MYTHES, ET RELIGIONS. PAR SAL. REINACH, Membre de l'Institut. Vol. I. Paris: E. Leroux. 1905.

IN this collection of articles contributed by him during the last dozen years to the *Revue Celtique*, *L'Anthropologie* and other learned periodicals, M. Reinach touches upon nearly every point that can interest the anthropologist and the student of European religion, and handles all with the like mastery, the like penetrating grasp of essentials, the like power of lucid and orderly exposition. Totemism, Taboos, Marriage customs, Sacrifice, Magic, the Early Celtic Pantheon, Prayers for the Dead, the Infernal Cohorts, Byzantine Christianity, Apostolic Apocrypha, Mediæval Jewish Rationalism, Seventeenth-century Mysticism, such are his subjects, treated with full command of the pertinent literature, with full perception of the problems involved. Many of them belong to what is most obscure and controverted in our studies, and it is delightful to note the ease and sureness with which the complicated tangles of fact which confront the investigators of totemism, or of archaic sexual relations, are deftly woven into a simple and convincing argument. M. Reinach combines the eminently French quality of logical analysis with a truly German range of erudition and subtlety of method. Moreover, and this should commend his book to English students, he avows himself

a convinced adherent of the English anthropological school, and he sets forth and vindicates its principles with a directness and a vigour too often lacking among English scholars. He is an uncompromising evolutionist, and his firm grasp of principle enables him to avoid inconsistencies and to keep clear of unnecessary concessions such as at times irritate one in English work. To one who has never wavered in his allegiance to the evolutionary principle, who has always held that "*hors de l'histoire*" (of the belief or practice under investigation) "*point de salut*," who has steadily maintained from the first that folk-lore represents in the main the protoplasm out of which the higher beliefs have evolved by a process of differentiation and refinement, and *not* a coarsened, weakened degradation of those beliefs, it is a delight to find his faith championed with such wealth of accurate knowledge, such force of critical reasoning. Owing to the nature of M. Reinach's book—a series of independent monographs each worthy of specialist criticism—it is impossible to do more here than indicate its leading characteristics, and commend it warmly to all English students desirous of appreciating the true scope and import of modern anthropological and folk-lore research, and justly interested in noting the esteem in which the work of our English masters is held by one of the most accomplished of Continental scholars.

ALFRED NUTT.

DES DIVINITÉS GÉNÉRATRICES, OU DU CULTE DU PHALLUS
CHEZ LES ANCIENS ET LES MODERNES. By J. A. DULAURE.
Paris: Société du Mercure de France, 1905.

M. DULAURE's famous book, originally issued a hundred years ago, is here reprinted; and M. A. van Gennep has added "a complementary chapter."

The author of the book was one of the pioneers of the anthropological method of investigating human history. He points out in his preface the aridity of a history, as history was then usually

written, where the manners, institutions, customs, and opinions of a people are neglected, and rightly insists on the necessity of taking them into account. "The comparison," he says, "of customs, cults, idioms, even of dress; that of the means of transmitting language, that is to say, of writing; the comparison of the superstitious ceremonies observed at births, marriages, and deaths; the comparison of practices intended to prevent troublesome accidents, calamities, and diseases, to bring abundance and prosperity, and to implore the divinity and render him favourable; these comparisons, I say, will lead to conclusions on the origin of the different peoples more certain than can be drawn from the greater part of our historical traditions." It is thus evident that he was possessed of the truly scientific spirit. The root of the matter was in him. But when he came to apply the principle enunciated in the words I have quoted, the application was thwarted by two difficulties. First, he could not shake himself entirely free of the theories of Dupuis, who had written a ponderous work to prove that the primitive worship was that of the heavenly bodies. Among these bodies, of course, the sun in his various zodiacal phases took a prominent place. Dulaure correlates the worship of the reproductive principle of nature with that of the sun. Here there was a germ, and more than a germ, of truth. In the northern hemisphere, with which he was almost exclusively concerned, the springtime, when the sun enters the sign of Taurus, is especially the time when the reproductive powers of the vegetable world are manifested, and when religious festivals to celebrate the return of life after the temporary death of winter are held. It is undeniable that at these festivals phallic emblems are honoured and phallic rites performed. Dulaure's mistake was in assuming that the cult of the sun was primitive and universal, and that the cult of the phallus was likewise primitive and universal and necessarily connected with the cult of the sun. The evidence he brings forward ought to have been sufficient to put him on his guard as to the latter. It is quite certain, at all events in the light of more modern researches, that any cult, strictly so called, of the phallus is of limited range and sporadic, that it is not

necessarily connected with the cult of the sun, and that it is not primitive.

Dulaure's second difficulty arises from the fact that he wrote a century before the principles of magic had been investigated. He does not distinguish between acts of worship and acts of magic. It is well pointed out by M. van Gennep in the "complementary chapter" that the fundamental ideas of the beliefs and rites in which Dulaure thought he had discovered fragments of an ancient religious system, at once solar and phallic, are magical. It may be admitted that the line of demarcation between magic and religion is often very fine, even in the highest religions. But clearly Dulaure exaggerates the import of the fact he adduces in support of his theory; he exaggerates and he distorts it because he does not understand it.

Moreover, many of the facts mentioned have nothing to do with either magic or religion. Often they are simply the expression of the naïve shamelessness of barbarian manners, or of such coarseness of ideas as was not unknown even in "the spacious times of great Elizabeth," without in either case any impure intention. In other cases they are acts of licence, sometimes acts of tyranny, founded on physical or spiritual power.

Notwithstanding this, Dulaure's work was in the true line of evolution of anthropological science. The subject is treated with modesty, though it need hardly be said the book is not one for the drawing-room table. M. van Gennep's "complementary chapter" is well and discreetly written. He had a difficult task. It was not possible to bring Dulaure "up to date" without rewriting the work. But the process of rewriting would mean the production of something quite different, and the drawing of conclusions often in contradiction with those of a hundred years ago. M. van Gennep appreciates Dulaure's position and the honour due to him as a first explorer of vast territories of human thought. With gentle dexterity he supplies the corrective scepticism, showing from his wide reading that another interpretation is to be put upon much of the evidence, and that the ideas underlying the worship of the generative powers are anything but primitive.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

CRYSTAL-GAZING: ITS HISTORY AND PRACTICE, WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCE FOR TELEPATHIC SCRYING. With an Introduction by ANDREW LANG, M.A., LL.D. By NORTH-COTE W. THOMAS, M.A. Alexander Moring Limited. 1905.

THE personal references with which Dr. Lang and Mr. Thomas honour me in this entertaining booklet are gratifying in so far as they show that the discussion between Dr. Lang and myself, although now of ancient date, remains occasion of mental disquiet. Dr. Lang's touching allusion to his continued hepatic troubles commands my unabated sympathy, the more so as I fear that they may retard his conversion. Mr. Thomas seems to mistake logomachy for logic. He quotes me as contending that, as the phenomena which savages attribute to spirits are explained by science as due to natural causes, spirits do not exist. That is rather a travesty of what I said; but let it pass. Then he offers a parallel. Some ignorant rustics attributed the working of a steam-driven machine to horses inside it; they were mistaken; therefore, horses do not exist! Surely the ordinary man, who has never had Mr. Thomas's advantages of a course of Mill or Jevons, will reply that, in the one case, the rustics referred the mystery to known or ascertainable causes, since they had seen horses doing divers kinds of field work; while in the other case, the mysteries are ascribed to a cause of which the savages know, and can know, nothing. The savage and the spiritualist are at one in explaining what puzzles them as due to something of which they are totally ignorant. But their conceptions of that "something" prevent the application of the saying, *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*.

As for the subject-matter of the little volume, there is little, there can be little, that is new. For the pictures seen in glass balls, mirrors, beryl stones, and other objects reflecting light, vary in detail only according to the idiosyncrasy or "personal equation" of the scryer. Crystal-gazing is as "old as the hills"; Æschylus attributed its discovery to Prometheus, Zoroaster to Ahriman, and the Fathers of the Church to the Devil. Modern explanations are less concrete: they refer the phenomena to the vague pseudo- or quasi-supernatural. When Mr. Thomas rebukes

Professor Ray Lankester for daring to speak of telepathy as a "thing" (does Mr. Thomas contend that it is a person?), and when Dr. Lang confesses belief that there is evidence (ingathered, it is presumed, by the Society for Psychical Research) in support of the survival of human personality, the uneasy feeling arises that both of them are in the movement which arrests the explanation of the occult on scientific lines.

Mind is greater than consciousness; its depths no plummet has sounded, but its abnormal workings indicate that what man seeks after in the heavens lies within him. Mr. Thomas closes his book with the announcement that "crystals can be obtained of the Society for Psychical Research, 20 Hanover Square, to whose care reports of crystal-gazing may be consigned" to him. It is not easy to reconcile his statement that "the crystal is apt to anticipate events" with the assurance that "moderate indulgence in the sport is no more harmful than an after-dinner snooze." Sport, indeed!

Thought-Transference, by the same author and from the same publisher, has also reached us; but while the treatise on Crystal-gazing may be useful to the student as a collection of evidence relating to a very old and widespread form of divination, its companion volume lies entirely outside our scope.

EDWARD CLODD.

VOTIVE WEIHEGABEN DES KATHOLISCHEN VOLKS IN SÜDDEUTSCHLAND. EIN BEITRAG ZUR VOLKSKUNDE. VON RICHARD ANDREE. Mit 38 Abbildungen im Text, 140 Abbildungen auf 32 Tafeln, und 2 Farbendrucktafeln. Braunschweig: Vieweg und Sohn. 1904. 12 marks paper, 13.50 cloth.

THE first chapter of this monograph gives a brief sketch of the practice of dedicating offerings in antiquity, amongst the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Jews: a very brief sketch, the least satisfactory part of the book. A single reference for Egypt to

Wilkinson, without a hint of date or indication whether the custom was there borrowed; a few references to Olympia and Epidauros, and other such allusions, only suffice to indicate that the modern practice has its roots in heathendom. The author has not used any of the works specially devoted, wholly or in part, to the topic. The second, which treats of the relation of the Catholic Church to the saints, is also of a thin texture, and does not enter into the relation of the modern saints to the ancient gods or heroes. It would have been very useful had the author compiled a list of saints, with their properties, and if possible some indication of their relation to antiquity. No doubt original research on these lines would have taken a very long time, and would have given matter enough for a new book; but something has been already done, and at least the list we speak of could have been made. After this the author comes to his own special sphere, and at once he becomes worth hearing. He describes first the general features of pilgrim shrines and sacred springs: the reader will be amused to see how the new is grafted upon the old. In Bickerstein the author bought for a penny a paper packet upon which was depicted a steam engine, with the words "Railway to Heaven" and "Ticket for Paradise." Spiritual playing-cards are also somewhere to be found. A chapter follows on Pilgrimages; and a picture is given of one poor sinner who for 36 years has not washed, and has always carried an iron chain bound seven times about his wasted body. An interesting series of notes and observations is attached under the title "Guardians of Domestic Animals." Some are patrons of cattle, some of horses. Here again our author is too scanty. We now come to a chapter on St. Leonard and his powers, with a list of his holy places in South Germany. At Aigen, in Bavaria, the author saw more than a thousand iron figures of horses and kine which had been there offered on the saint's feast-day. Here also he found a number of allusions to the practice in the church archives, in which the foundation statutes of 1599 give detailed directions for the dedication of offerings. These iron figures are quite a common form of dedication to this saint at various local shrines: they are dedicated after a procession of riders and carts thrice about the church. Other saints have the same patronage

and the same custom: St. Stephen, St. Wolfgang, St. Koloman, St. George, St. Willibald. Another remarkable thing is that many of the churches are surrounded by iron chains. These the author plausibly associates with the dedication of the chains of horses and cattle, which he supposes to have been joined or re-made into a large chain and hung about the church. Other explanations are suggested by various writers, but none can be proved to be true. Horse-shoes are also dedicated. After an excursus on tapers, the author recurs to his iron figures, and traces the extent of their use. Amongst them are human figures and parts of the body. They are always wrought or cut out of foil, but never cast; some are as old as the Middle Ages. Wax figures of human beings are also offered, and the use is recorded in documents reaching back to the fifteenth century, many of which are printed in this book. Sometimes the material is wood, or silver, or even paper. A detailed description is added of a few very old figures at Aigen, six of which have special names. The author excavated a store of votive offerings at this place, two of which were very rude, naked, and phallic figures, with clasped hands. It is difficult to explain a number of votive tortoises.¹ The dedication of real animals, which the author traces through past centuries, still exists. Mallet, plough-share, and other utensils are, or were, also given to the saint; and there exist models of houses. Clothes, moreover, and various kinds of vegetables and food, are not wanting. Finally, we have votive pictures of types already familiar, in which the scene of help or healing is depicted. The book is well illustrated; we may call attention to a few things of special interest. Two very old figures of prisoners in chains are given in Plate III.; most of the human figures have the hands outstretched and clasped in the attitude of devotion. Many parts of the body occur, the disease often being indicated, and some being inscribed with letters or designs. A number of rough urns have the shape of the human head, like those found in Etruscan or Peruvian tombs. Amongst the animals occur snakes, tortoises, and a beehive. Two votive pictures are painted in colours.

¹ But cf. *Legend of Perseus*, 1. 176.

Enough has been said to show the character of the book. It bears evidence of accuracy and careful investigation. We are not well satisfied with the arrangement, and the style is diffuse: but the book is most useful, and it is full of first-hand information, illustrative of popular belief and of the persistence of ancient custom.

DIE MYTHEN UND LEGENDEN DER SÜDAMERIKANISCHEN
URVÖLKER UND IHRE BEZIEHUNGEN ZU DENEN NORD-
AMERIKAS UND DER ALTEN WELT. VON DR. PAUL
EHRENREICH. Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1905.

It is remarkable how little is yet known of the mythic world and the tales of the South American aborigines. This is partly due to the fact that in South America no government has yet arisen sufficiently in touch with modern culture and at leisure from domestic revolution to establish an institution like the Bureau of Ethnology, which has done so much for the investigation of the aborigines of North America. Partly it is due to the climate and the dense forests, which have greatly hindered the penetration of white men into the interior. Dr. Ehrenreich's own bibliographical list, appended to his monograph before us, only includes some score of books strictly relating to South America, and capable of being called first-hand works. Few of them are collections of traditions, most of them being narratives of travel, or of mission-work, in which the native stories are a very subordinate element. Such, however, as the material thus gathered is, Dr. Ehrenreich in these pages sets himself the task of classifying and characterising it, and of tracing its relations to the mythic material and stories of North America and the Old World.

Germany lingered under the domination of the sun-myth and the philological school of mythologists for half a generation after they had been discredited in England. A new school

has at last arisen which recognises the value of the labours of Mannhardt, Lang and Frazer. To this school I gather Dr. Ehrenreich belongs, though he still explains many stories as sun- or moon-myths in a somewhat arbitrary fashion. It seems impossible, for instance, that the incident of the hero swallowed by a monster and brought up alive again (Jonah) can be always a sun-myth, though it is conceivable that the phenomena of eclipses, of sunset and sunrise, may in some cases have influenced the development of a story. Direct evidence also would be required to show that the incident of the hero cut to pieces and afterwards put together again and restored to life (Osiris) is a myth of the waning and waxing moon. As much might be said of other incidents referred by the author to nature-myths. It is not of course to be denied that nature-myths exist. One would be a hardened Euhemerist to do that, for, among savage peoples particularly, the heroes are often expressly stated to be sun, moon, wind and other phenomena. Incidents may indeed be taken over from nature-myths into other stories. That, however, does not constitute the latter nature-myths, any more than the adoption of a cork-leg makes a man a cork-tree. I believe such instances are far fewer than Dr. Ehrenreich thinks. Again; it is perfectly true that, as he points out, many cases in which borrowing has been suggested are simply examples of the independent working up of ideas common, if not to the race, at all events to peoples in a certain stage of culture. But it does not follow that these ideas are mythological, in the sense of being stories concerning the heavenly bodies or the phenomena of day and night, and so forth. The universal love for story-telling has to be taken into account, and the capacity of human imagination to exercise itself upon any material presented to it.

If I rightly interpret the author, he thinks that every story which cannot be referred to a mythological source in the sense just mentioned, and indeed many stories which can, must be borrowed—must have originated in one definite centre and spread thence over the world. It is true that there is a difficulty in supposing that certain complicated incidents, sometimes following one another in a definite series with com-

paratively few variations, have been invented independently. The flight from an ogre who is impeded by magical obstacles thrown in his way is an incident of this kind. It is often preceded by the incident of lousing the ogre, and thus discovering his real character and putting him to sleep. With or without the latter, it is found in almost every corner of the world. It is based on very primitive savage beliefs and practices; and without the most minute analysis and tabulation of all the known variants it would be impossible to justify the conclusion, at which the author arrives, that all the variants were diffused on the one hand through Asia, Europe and Africa, and on the other hand through America, from a common centre in Eastern Asia. This analysis and tabulation exceed even Dr. Ehrenreich's researches, extensive though they have been.

The Coniraya story, on which the author lays great stress as an example of transmission, is a variant of the tale of the Lucky Fool, well known as a *märchen* in Europe. The mode of supernatural conception is considered with a number of analogues in the fifth chapter of my *Legend of Perseus*. That cited by Dr. Ehrenreich from Bastian is doubtless genuine, despite that, from the haste in which he always wrote, the latter omitted as usual to give his authority. Let it suffice here to say that the mode of conception is founded upon a savage belief of practically universal distribution, though, as we might expect from our knowledge of Peruvian and Siamese culture, not in its most primitive form. The scene where the child is set to identify his father is a representation of a mode of divination thoroughly in harmony with early ideas, as familiar in South America as in Asia. I see no reason here to suspect any "Asiatic character" in the Coniraya myth, still less to assert that it is "unmistakable."

The attention, in fact, of storyologists has been too exclusively concentrated on the stories as stories, rather than on the stories as embodiments of primitive ideas and customs. What is wanted is to analyse them with regard to these, and to enquire how far the stories of a nation represent ideas and things familiar to it. The place of origin and direction of transmission are of merely secondary importance wherever it

can be shown that the ideas, customs and institutions underlying a folk-tale are part of the culture of the people and that the external objects are familiar. In such a case, even if the story be not native in origin, it has been thoroughly assimilated, and may for all purposes be regarded as part of the mental furniture of the people among which it is told. And I need hardly point out that where, as in the case of the Coniraya myth just cited, it has become part of the sacred history, no matter whether through "priestly speculation" or otherwise, that fact is one of the best proofs of its complete assimilation.

On the author's general position that the myths of North and South America are organically connected; on his view that it is needful to study the part played by various peoples, such as the Arawaks and the Tupi, in carrying material culture, in order to arrive at sound conclusions as to the transmission of stories in South America; and on his plea for further enquiry without loss of time, I am entirely at one with him. His outline of the content of the South American story-store and his valuation of authorities are excellent. His theories are stated with moderation and are to a large extent sound, although I think he attaches far too much importance to the influence of India in spreading stories over the world, and especially over Europe. The volume, originally published as a supplement to the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, is one that students of folk-tales will do well to study; and the price (three marks) puts it within the reach of everyone.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE FAROES AND ICELAND: STUDIES IN ISLAND LIFE. By NELSON ANNANDALE. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905.

MR. ANNANDALE, when Research Student in Anthropology at the University of Edinburgh, became favourably known as part author of *Fasciculi Malayenses*, in which he records the anthropological work done by him when he accompanied the

Skeat expedition as a volunteer in its tour through the Eastern Siamese Malay States in 1901-2, an expedition to which his university and the Royal Society of London gave financial assistance. He has also made contributions to the publications of the Anthropological Institute, the Cambridge Philosophical Society, and the Royal Society of Edinburgh and is now Deputy Superintendent of the Indian Museum at Calcutta. In the work before us, which is appropriately dedicated to Professor E. B. Tylor, he gives the result of a series of summer and autumn holidays spent between the years 1896 and 1903, in the Faroes and Iceland. The people of the Faroes are described as a finely-built and handsome race, and we believe that, like many others in remote islands, they retain a brachycephalic type harking back to the Stone Age, but Mr. Annandale does not furnish any measurement of the cephalic index. This book is a charming little work of viii+238 pages, commendably free from purely technical details, and illustrated by 24 good photographs. The cover is adorned with a neat sketch-map. We proceed to note some of its contributions to folk-lore.

The superstitions of the people of the Faroes deal mostly with trolls, mermaids, and water-spirits. The trolls are the little people who live inside the fairy mount, from which they issue at night or in solitary places, to dance, or to play mischievous tricks on human beings, or sometimes to steal a child. Trolls' Head is the name given to a rock where a troll lost his head in the attempt to tie two islands together (p. 22). A disease to which cattle are liable is ascribed to trolls, and called "troll-riding" (p. 23). It is firmly believed that they still kidnap little girls (p. 24). Mermaids entangle fishermen's lines and snap off their hooks. The soldiers of Pharaoh who were lost in the Red Sea were not drowned but turned into seals, which swam away to the north. They are said to climb a hill on Naaloe once a month, throwing off their skins and dancing in human form, and men have gained wives of great beauty by surprising them and withholding their discarded skins (p. 26). Unfortunately the indigenous seals which were once abundant in the Faroes have now been quite exterminated, though a few come south from Iceland in the winter.

The wren is called the mouse's brother, and whatever the mouse spoils, the mouse's brother spoils too (p. 52). An albatross shot in 1894, greatly to the indignation of the people, was called by them "the king of the gannet" and regarded with superstitious reverence (p. 56).

Mr. Annandale gives an interesting account in his third chapter of the raid of the Algerian pirates in Iceland, and the various legends connected with the pitiful experiences of the people in that time of horror. He arrives at the conclusion that it is improbable that there is any trace of Algerian blood existing in the Icelander or the Faroeman of to-day, but that it is possible there may be a small Icelandic element in the very mixed population of Algeria.

Close to Iceland on the south is a small group called the Vestmannaeyjar or Westman Isles. The folk here believe that the puffins are an organised community, with a king, a queen, princes and princesses. The capture of a puffin king, which is pure white, is regarded as lucky. In the Faroes, on the other hand, as Col. Fielden informed the readers of the *Zoologist*, the white puffins were protected because they were supposed to have each saved a man's life (Annandale, p. 106). The Westman islanders also call white fulmars "kings" and believe that they portend good luck to their captors (p. 116).

The rock of Sulnasker is the property of the community, and the man who climbs it for the first time on a birding expedition has to treat his comrades on their return, and to offer a small coin or iron nail in a cairn on the summit called the Skerry Priest. The legend of this is that of the first two men who climbed the Sulnasker, one was profane and perished, the other was helped by a giant who crossed over every New Year's eve to the island of Heimey in a stone boat. Mr. Annandale remarks that this legend is interesting from several points of view. It illustrates the truth that similar conditions give rise to similar folk-lore, no matter how far apart peoples may be, as, for example, in Tahiti a legend of a stone boat occurs. The similarity of birding-customs all over the world is also illustrated, as, for example, the fowlers of Lower Siam

make offerings before conical stones of a very similar form to the cairn (p. 118).

The folk-songs of the Westman islanders include Icelandic versions of English music-hall ditties, which have a habit of travelling round the world. "A bicycle built for two" has been translated into Icelandic, and also into Malay, where it is sung even in remote Patani (p. 119).

The little auk does not breed in the Westman Islands, but occasionally appears there, and the islanders think it to be the halcyon of the Greeks and call it *halkjon*, crediting it with the legend that it builds a floating nest on the sea with its own feathers (p. 126).

These specimens of the interesting facts collected by Mr. Annandale will, we hope, induce many readers to consult his work, which does not contain a single tiresome page. An appendix by Dr. F. H. A. Marshall, Carnegie Research Fellow in the University of Edinburgh, discusses the origin of the Celtic Pony.

EDWARD BRABROOK.

THE SHADE OF THE BALKANS, being a collection of Bulgarian Folk-songs and Proverbs, here for the first time rendered into English, together with an essay on Bulgarian Popular Poetry, and another on the Origin of the Bulgar. Nutt. 1904. 7s. 6d. net.

THE authors of this book appear to be Mr. Henry Bernard and Dr. E. J. Dillon, although their names do not stand on the title page; the material has been supplied by, or through, one Pencho Slaveikoff, "the caged lion of Sofia." We do not find that either of the authors knows Bulgarian, nor does the caged lion know English. The caged lion recited his material to the authors in German. If they decided to include it in the book, he gave a "more accurate rendering" in German, and repeated a few lines in Bulgarian that Mr. Bernard might preserve the metre;

Mr. Bernard then translated the German into English. He adds: "Whenever we came to a passage that was at all recondite, we set about the conquest of it by means of metaphor and illustrative anecdote and fearless flights of imagination." When Mr. Bernard left Bulgaria the material was written down in German and sent to him. Slaveikoff is the author of several books in his own language, and he contributes an essay to this on the *Folk-song of the Bulgars*, in which he gives an account of the chief printed collections of songs, and he claims great beauty and value for them. Some of them also contain very ancient and even classical elements, e.g. the story of Oedipus. The great Bulgarian hero is Kralj Marko. The poems are written in lines of irregular length and rhythm, without rime, and the English version is of the same type.

We frankly confess that Mr. Bernard's account of his method fills us with consternation. When we read through the pieces we find much that is interesting and even beautiful; but how can we tell whether this came from the lion of Sofia or from some fearless flight of Mr. Bernard's imagination? It cannot be denied that serious students will have to use this book with great caution, and base no hypotheses upon it unless they can check it by other means. We have no first-hand knowledge of Bulgarian, but we know from those who have that the Bulgarian people is rich in folk-lore and folk-literature, and that they have printed large quantities of both. It is therefore greatly to be desired that some competent scholar should search this field, from which very little has been transplanted into English.

It will be worth while, however, briefly to indicate some of the contents of the volume. In myth we have the *Marriage of the Sun* with a maiden named Grozdana (Spring). Religion and myth are seen in *The Plague and God*; "old, worthy God" could do nothing with Plague, who would not stay at his bidding; "when God encountered me," she says at the end, with grim ferocity, "he cast no light upon my soul." *The Last Journey of St. Peter's Mother* plays on a theme familiar in Italy;¹ this

¹ Pitre, vi. *Biblioteca*, 65; *Nov. Pop. Toscani*, 159, etc.: cf. also Baron Corvo, *In His Image*.

woman always appears as a mean thing whom even St. Peter could not get out of hell, for she never did a good act. Songs connected with trees, animals, and other parts of nature are the most characteristic part of the collection. *The Legend of Sweet Basil* is familiar elsewhere; not so the *Legend of the Cuckoo*, who is a sister grieving for her stricken brother. The *Confession of the Mother of God* explains why the poplar has no shade, the ivy has sour fruit, and the fir has no fruit or blossom. Other pieces allude to marriage customs, to the adventures or the outrages of robbers, to historical personages (such as the Emperor Constantine), and above all to love and death. We are glad to say that a great deal of the poetical imagery is striking and of fine character; but here again we remember those fearless flights of imagination. This is a book which any one having a poetic taste will read with pleasure; we wish we could say that it might be also useful to students.

CONTINENTAL FOLK-LORE SOCIETIES.

- Volkskundliche Zeitschriftenschau für 1903, herausgegeben im Auftrage der hessischen Vereinigung für Volkskunde.* Von Adolf Strack. Leipzig, 1905. 8vo. Pp. 281.
- Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde.* Von Adolf Strack. Bd. IV., Heft I., Leipzig, 1905. 8vo. Pp. 96.
- Mitteilungen des Verbandes deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde,* 1 and 2, Januar und Juli, 1905.
- Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, IX. 3. Zürich, 1905.
- Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, XXXIV., 6; XXXV., 1.
- Sagenschatz der Stadt Weimar.* Von Ellen und Paul Mitzschke. Weimar, 1904, 8vo. Pp. xviii., 152. Price 2 M. 40 pf.

THE *Hessische Vereinigung* should be a proud body, for it has performed three remarkable feats. It has reached a membership of over 1100; it has directed the energies of some of its members

into the channel of bibliography, with the result of a survey of the literature of 1903, which far exceeds in completeness anything ever before attempted; and it has found an editor so modest as to apologise for the shortcomings of his bibliography.

The *Schau* is really a series of *comptes rendus* arranged under periodicals and admirably indexed under subjects and authors. Good folklorists will probably go to Hesse when they die; if they don't, it will be because they have omitted to support the *Hessische Vereinigung* with an annual subscription, and have failed to back up our German sister by helping to produce an adequate bibliography. If German were not a sealed book to many members of the society, it would really be unnecessary to do more than offer a subvention to the bibliography of the *Hessische Vereinigung* in return for a number of copies. It is indeed a matter for serious consideration whether the English Folklore Society should not undertake to provide the English slips and thus do its share towards filling up the gaps deplored by Professor Strack. What these are it is impossible to say at present, inasmuch as some ten periodicals are reserved for the next issue, which will, we may assume, include the *American Anthropologist*, *Man*, the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, the Australian Royal Societies, and various French publications.

The subscription to the *Vereinigung* is only 6/- a year, or 3/- for those who do not wish to receive the bibliography. Subscriptions are payable to Professor Dr. Strack, Alicestr. 16, Giessen.

The Transactions of the Hessian Society are of minor importance, compared with their bibliography. None the less there are papers in them which are both interesting and valuable. Among others Professor Helm discusses the question of the home of the Indo-Germans, Professor Knoop gives some information about Polish goblins, and there is a useful list of new books. The *Mitteilungen* are particularly useful as giving cohesion to a number of efforts which would otherwise be doomed to isolation.

A distinguishing characteristic of many Continental folk-lore publications is their almost exclusive devotion to their own area. A systematic study of a particular area, classified under appropriate headings, is a type of paper common in Germany; and we

find a good example of it in the number of the *Schweizerisches Archiv* before us, where Meier continues his account of the folklore of Freiamt and Kelleramt. The number also contains the conclusion of a collection of riddles from Münchenbuchsee. This (Moore's Isle of Man paper excepted) is a type of research to which the Folklore Society has not so far turned its attention. The remaining paper deals with a subject—dairy apparatus—which the Society excludes from its sphere of work; and as a matter of fact there is but little work to be done in the British Isles in this direction. Peasant life is far more characteristic of the Continent, and there we find materials for study which are lacking in England.

The wider scope of the Vienna Society, again, makes it inevitable that much of what they publish should fall without the limits which the Folklore Society sets itself. As a matter of fact not one article in these two Parts of the Viennese *Mitteilungen*, interests the folklorist pure and simple. There is, however, a long article, which will prove attractive to many, on the fields and peasants' houses of Carinthia, illustrated with many plans and sketches. In England, too, the names of fields are often of folkloric interest, and members of the Society might do useful work in recording them.

The little collection of local traditions, historical and legendary, of the city of Weimar, which stands last on our list, is not issued under the auspices of any Society, but though due to individual effort, it may conveniently be noticed here. The authors set an example to the industrious but unambitious folklorist. There is no attempt to "improve" the stories, and where there is a literary source there are full references. The authors would, however, have done well to go further than the mere "*mündlich*," and to give name, age, and other details, of the narrators of stories from their own collections. The arrangement is topographical, doubtless a convenient one for the local reader, but less satisfactory for comparative purposes.

N. W. THOMAS.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL QUERIES FOR CENTRAL AFRICA.

THIS little pamphlet of twenty 4to pages bears no name of author or publisher, but the "Prefatory Note" is signed by Mr. Charles H. Read, of the British Museum, from whom copies may, presumably, be had on application. *Anthropological Notes and Queries* has been used as the basis of the work, with omissions and additions to suit it to its special purpose. There are sixty-five sections, embracing subjects so varied as Cannibalism, Machinery, Government, and Narcotics. Many of them are of course quite outside the scope of folklore, and otherwise unsuited for reproduction here, but the following may be quoted to show the terse, practical and thorough character of the little *brochure*.

"XLV. DEATH, BURIAL. (1) What causes of death do they recognise? (2) Do relatives or others attend a dying man, or is he deserted? (3) How is the body treated after death? Prepared for burial? Any embalming? (4) How is the body carried to the grave? Who attend? Any mourning; any mutilations; any sacrifice? Blood custom? Fasting? (5) Shape of grave? (6) What mode of burial? Anything buried with the body? (7) What position is the body in? Towards any special point of the compass? (8) Is burial in a canoe ever practised? (9) Is anyone refused burial? Debtor; person killed by lightning, etc. (10) Are women buried in the same way as men? All ranks in the same way? (11) Any mound or memorial on grave? Hut? Fire at or near grave? How long? Are mourners unclean? Ceremonies of purification? (12) Is the body ever exhumed? Or the bones? What is done with them? Skull drinking-cup? (13) Is exposure ever practised? How? Any special customs? Influence on lot in future life? (14) Any memorial other than grave? (15) Is cremation ever practised? If so, answer questions as for burial. Any lamentation? (16) Any ceremonies, fasts, sacrifices, long after death?"

"L. MAGIC AND MAGICIAN. (1) Is there more than one kind of magician? What distinction? (2) Who become magicians? How? (3) Relation of priest to magician? Jealousy? Are they ever the same person? (4) Does magician work (a) through natural laws (in his own belief); (b) through

magical powers of his own; (c) through familiar spirits (in what form?); through aid of gods? Is he the master or the servant of the means by which he acts? (5) Is the magician also the leech? What ceremonies? (6) Songs, charms, spells, etc., connected with the magician's art? (7) Do they fear the evil eye? Means of averting? Cursing? (8) Any reason to suppose victims die of fear or any other cause? (9) Can magician take a man's soul away? By using his name or how? (10) Are images of victim used? Is sympathetic magic used, *e.g.* keeping weapon bright when it has inflicted a wound, in order to cure? (11) Divination by crystal or mirror? How? By divining-rod? By other objects? (12) Familiar spirits? Animals? How acquired? What if the animal is killed?"

WEST AFRICA BEFORE EUROPE, AND OTHER ADDRESSES. By
E. W. BLYDEN, LL.D. London: C. M. Phillips, 1905.
8vo. Pp. iv, 158.

THERE is a widely spread idea that what is good for the white man is good for the negro, including, *inter alia*, religion, clothing, government, etc. Other things, such as bad gin, are admittedly bad for the white man, but we let him have them because it is difficult to stop him or because it is a man's birthright to consume drugs, exhilarating or otherwise, in poisonous quantities, or for some equally sapient reason: the export of bad gin, etc., to the negro would be easily prevented, and we do not consider the rights of man where non-European races are concerned; "they are only niggers"; anything is good enough for them, and the interests of commerce and revenue demand that the export of gin should go on unchecked; therefore we do not interfere with the exportation of spirituous consolation to the heathen, though we prohibit Christian missionaries from worrying the Mussulmans of Khartoum, for it would be inadvisable in the interests of good government for them to stir up religious strife.

The part of the present work which concerns the anthropologist

is the section from p. 37 to p. 93, which deals with Islam in the Western Soudan. It is, of course, repugnant to the orthodox Colonial Office official, as to all well-brought-up civil servants, to investigate the beliefs of the races whom they are called upon to rule. Missionary societies do not concern themselves with the beliefs of non-Christian races, save as awful examples; it is their business to convert them and put them into European clothes, without considering whether sobriety, health, and every other virtue might not be better promoted by other beliefs and methods. It thus being to no one's interest to know about such things, it is by no means surprising to find that there is but little known of the importance of Islam in the Soudan. The only English works on the subject known to Dr. Blyden—two in number—are apparently hopelessly inaccurate, and the *Tarik e Soudan*, the most important work, has only lately seen the light in an occidental language.

Dr. Blyden's book deserves to be read by all anthropologists, not only for its own interest, which is considerable, but as a plea for the proper recognition of the religions of our subject races and as a contribution to the bearings of anthropology at large on the problems of empire. From an imperial point of view we should try to raise the peoples of lower cultures; it is useless to despise them and tell them they are necessarily and inevitably lower races. In the interests of humanity though not of anthropology, let us snuff them out (though not with the gin bottle), if we cannot respect them and teach them to respect themselves.

N. W. THOMAS.

Books for Review should be addressed to
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,
c/o DAVID NUTT,
57-59 LONG ACRE, LONDON.

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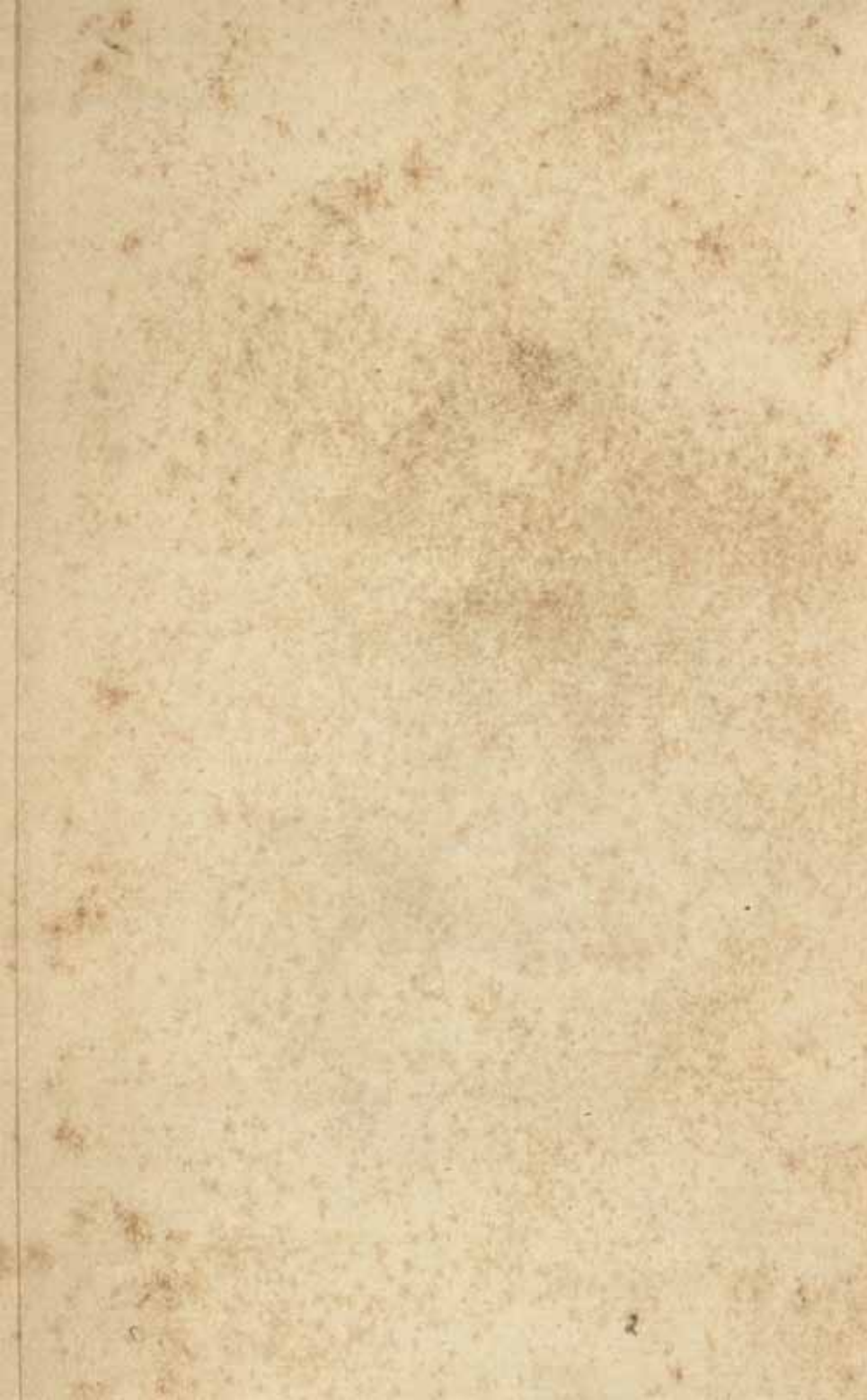
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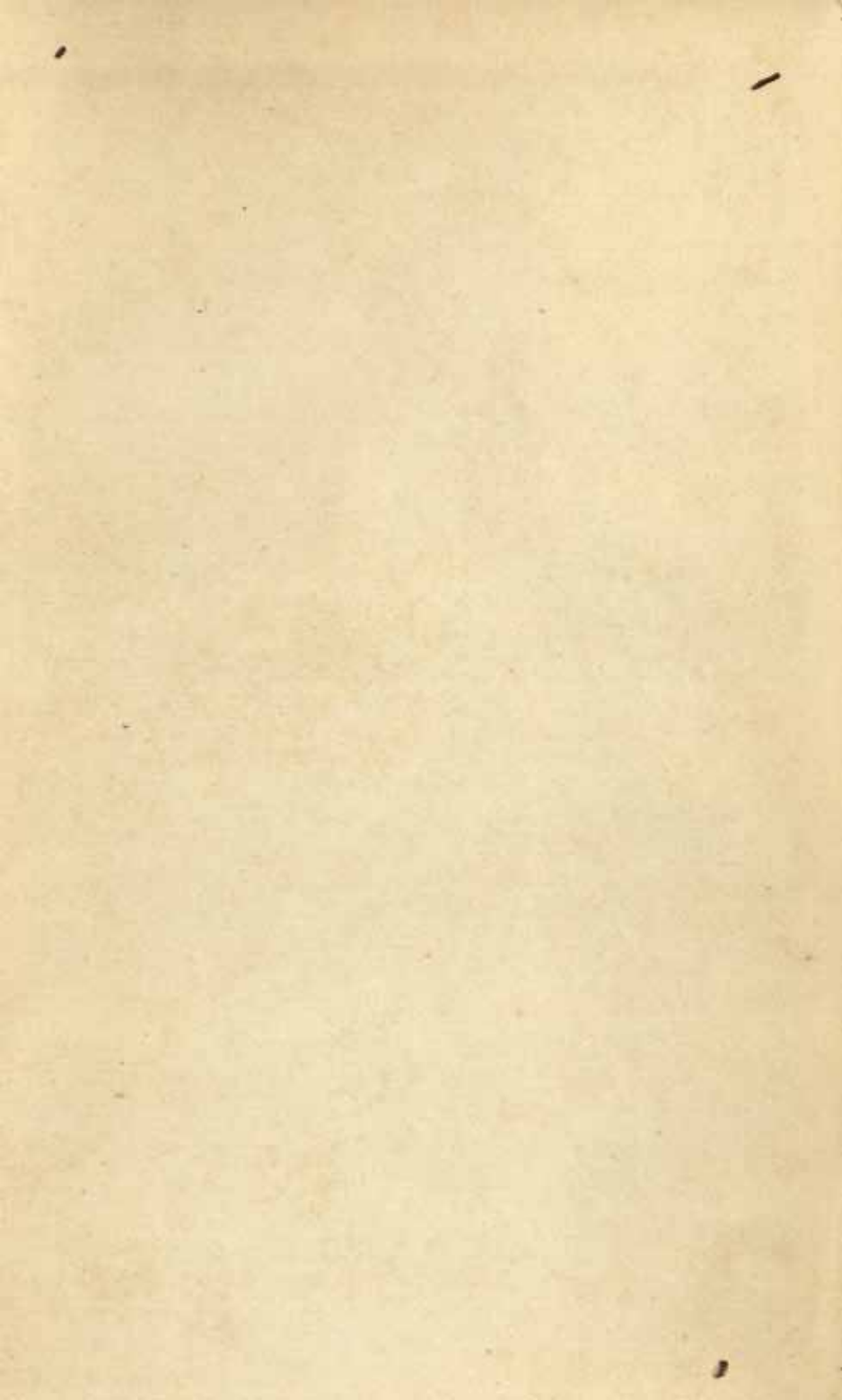
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